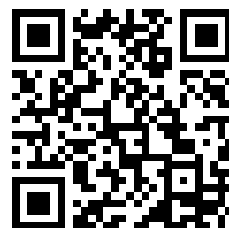

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FASCICULUS II.

Containing

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|--|---|
| V. The Hymn of St. Colman Mac Uí Cluasaigh. | XIII. Te Deum Laudamus. |
| VI. The Hymn of St. Cuchuimne. | XIV. The Hymn of St. Columba, "Altus Pro-
sator." |
| VII. The Hymn of St. Hilary in Praise of Christ. | XV. The Hymn of St. Columba, "In te,
Christe." |
| VIII. The Hymn of St. Colman Mac Murchon,
in Praise of Michael the Archangel. | XVI. The Hymn of St. Columba, "Noli Pater." |
| IX. The Hymn of St. Oengus Mac Tipraite in
Praise of St. Martin. | XVII. The Prayer of St. John the Evangelist. |
| X. Gloria in Excelsis Deo. | XVIII. The Epistle of Christ to Abgarus, King
of Edessa. |
| XI. The Magnificat, or Hymn of the Blessed
Virgin. | XIX. Prefatory Remarks on the Hymn of
St. Fiacc, in Praise of St. Patrick. |
| XII. The Benedictus, or Hymn of Zacharias. | |
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BY JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., F. S. A.,

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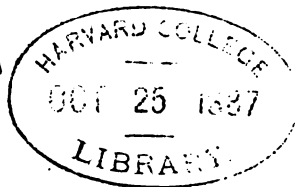
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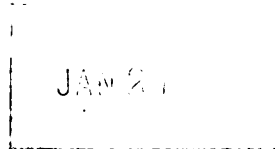
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November, 1869.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Fasciculus contains all the sheets which the late lamented Editor signed for the Press, before ill health and other obstacles interrupted the progress of the work. It is issued by direction of the Council in its present state, as a second instalment of the publication from the Editor's pen ; with the reasonable hope that, as Doctor Todd has left some materials for the continuation, and as there are two Members of the Society prepared to take up the work where he left off, another Fasciculus, carrying on the pagination and matter as originally proposed, will be ready for delivery at no distant period.

J. T. GILBERT, *Hon. Secretary.*

19, DAWSON-STREET, DUBLIN,
November, 1869.

V. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

THE following composition is of the nature of what the ancient Irish ecclesiastics called a *Luirech*, or *Lorica*, i. e., a Hymn to be recited as a protection against pestilence, assaults of demons, or other apprehended evils. The recitation of such hymns, or prayers, was regarded as the buckling on of spiritual armour, and hence they received the name of *Lorica*, in allusion probably to Eph. vi. 14, *seq.*, or rather perhaps to Ps. xci. (Vulg. xc.) 4, 5, 6. An example of a hymn of this kind, which is evidently Irish, and is attributed to one "Lathacan¹ Scotigena," will be found in Mone's collection, *Hymn. Lat. Medii Ævi*, vol. i. p. 367.

Of the Colman who is said to have been the author of the following Hymn, we know little except what we learn from the Preface of the Scholiast. He is there said to have been the son of the grandson of Cluasach; but who this Cluasach was, or what family bore his name, the Editor is unable to say. It appears, however, that Colman was a *Fer-Leghinn*, i. e., Lecturer or Professor, in the theological school or seminary of Cork, and that the Hymn was composed as a protection against the great pestilence which devastated Ireland in the seventh century. This seems to fix the date of its composition to shortly before A. D. 664, in which year (according to the chronology of the Four Masters) the two sons of Aedh Slaine, Diarmaid and Blathmac, joint kings of Ireland, with a great number of eminent saints and ecclesiastics, perished in the plague. There can be little doubt that the Colman to whom

¹ *Lathacan*.—This is probably the name which in Irish authorities is written Laidhgeann. Saints of this name are celebrated in the Irish Calendars, at Jan. 12, May 20, Oct. 23, and Nov. 28; but it is not easy to

identify any of them with this "Lathacan." The Four Masters record the death of a Laidhgenn, son of Baeth, of Clonfert Molua, A. D. 650; the Annals of Ulster call him "Laidhgenn *sapiens* mac Baith Bannaigh."

this hymn is attributed by the Scholiast must be regarded as the same who, under the name of "Colman Ua Cluasaigh," is mentioned by the Four Masters as the tutor of St. Cummain, or Cummine Fota, Bishop of Clonfert, and author of an elegy on the death of that prelate, A. D. 661, which has been already quoted.²

It is believed that this Hymn has never before been published, nor has the Editor been able to find any other MS. copy of it than that from which it is now printed. It is written in a dialect of Irish, which fully confirms the early date assigned to it. The Editor has endeavoured, in the Notes appended to the text, to point out the more important grammatical and philological peculiarities of its idiom, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry. To the former gentleman he is particularly indebted for much valuable philological and grammatical matter which is embodied in the notes; and Mr. Curry has given essential aid in the translation, as well as in deciphering and interpreting the obscurities of the MS. from which the text and its gloss have been printed. He has also to return thanks to Dr. Reeves for many valuable suggestions.

² See page 86, *supra*. The Four Masters fix the death of Colman Ua Cluasaigh at the same year as that of his pupil Cummine Fota (viz. A. D. 661); whereas the Scholiast's Preface states that the present hymn was composed on the occasion of the pestilence in which the kings Diarmaid and Blathmao died, viz. A. D. 664. But it is well known that the exact date of this celebrated plague is not very accurately

fixed, and that it continued with more or less intensity for some years. It may, therefore, be true, that our author composed the hymn on the occasion of the plague in which the kings of Ireland perished in 664, although he himself died of the same plague in 661. See Dr. Wilde's *Report on the Tables of Deaths*, (Census of Ireland for 1851, vol. v. p. 49 *sq.*



SEN DE. Colman mac hui Chluarais fep lezind Copcaize ipe do pigne in immanra dia foepat ap in mbuibechar po boe ipnemir mac nOeda Sláne. Ap popta imba doime in hEpin in can fein, 7 pobe a nimmac conna póicheir aós epí nól immaipe do cech fip in hEpin .i. a noi do móin, 7 a noi do min, 7 a noi do chaill. co po chpoirpce maiche fep nEpin, im meic nOda Sláne, im Pechine Pabair, 7 im Ailepan, 7 im Manchan Leich, 7 im pochaibe apchena, im huacigud na ndoime ap do dechaib terna bib ann ap a nimmed. Conid aipe fein tucad in buibechar poipu. conid de ac baatacap meic Aeda Sláne ipin bliabain pin. 7 na rpuiche po pódipem 7 alu mulei. Dicunt alu combad Cholman do gnech uile. Acberac paipenn aile na depnai achte ba pann de namma 7 in pcol dia dónam o pin immach .i. lech pann cech fip dib. 1 Copcaiz do pigneb in-ampúir ba mac Aeda Sláne .i. blathmac 7 Diarmait. ipe .fi. tucacat a denma. Tídm móir do patad poir fipu hEpin .i. in buibe connaill, co po riperap hEpin hule, 7 co na papcaib achte cech epier dune in hEpin mbethaib. 7 conid dia n-anacul co na pcol do pone ap in teidm pin do pime Colman in nimmunnra, 7 ip ann do pola dopom a denam in can po chupcanapap apenam co apaile inre mapa hEpin amaiz poir teched in cebmara co mbear .ix. [conna] ecurru 7ep, ap n eic teidm tapair inunn, ut fepunt pepici, co po iappais apaile den pcol Cholman, ciapen 7 capla doib dul poir pce comab ann fein. acpubairt Colman, cia pen on epa, ol peiprom, achte SEN DE; ap ipreb po chpialpacrom dul poir inrib mapa immach poir teched pep in ngalup.



EN de donfe fORDONTE mac maire RON feladar
FAOESSAM DUN INNOCHT CIA TIASAM CAIN TIMADAR

TER FOSS NO UTMAILLE ITER SUIDE NO SESSAM
RUIRE NIME PRI CECH TRESS ISSER ATTACH ABESSAM

Gloss.—1. *Donfe*.—1. pon fucca leir [may it be given by him]. *Fordonte*.—1. fopund de .i. ci fopin [on us come, i. e. come upon us]. *Ron feladar*.—1. do patu apial copund diapúit [may He put his veil over us for our protection]. 2. *Faoessam*.—1. faoeripit [may protect]. *Innocht*.—1. in nocte tribulationis. *Cia tiasam*.—1. cepe leach ciaram [whereas ever we go]. *Cain*.—1. alainn [beautiful]. *Timadar*.—1. cid imbai pin diapúit .i. doné ap ndibin [although numerous, we are to be protected, i. e. he does protect us]. 3. *Foss*.—1. cid fopridecht [whether at rest]. *Utmaille*.—1. cid fop imtecht [whether a going]. 4. *Ruire*.—1. popi [great King]. *Fri*.—1. contra. *Adessam*.—1. acchimit [we beseech].

1. *Sen de*.—For a translation of the tional Note (p. 132). The reader will
Preface and of the Hymn, see the Addi- observe that each line contains fourteen

IT^{ge} abeíl meic adaím heli enoc diarcobair
RON soerat ar dia nǵalar secip leth fonnibith fogair 5

N^{oe} ocus abraham isac in mac adamra
IMMUN tísat ar tedmann nach an tairle adamna

A^{lme} athair tri cethrur ocus ioseph an uasal
RON soerat a nérnaighi co rig níl aingílech nuasal 10

Gloss.—5. *Ige*.—i. gubmít [we beseech]. *Abeil*.—i. luctus. *Adaím*.—i. terrenus, vel terrigena, vel terra rubra interpretatur. 6. *Dia nǵalar*.—i. ap in galun nǵian .i. ap in buíde connail [from the sudden pestilence, i. e. from the *buidhe connail*]. *Fogair*.—i. fogairíger .i. bone comachium [that gives warning, i. e. that makes threatening]. 7. *Noe*.—Noe consolatio interpretatur, quia per ipsum mundus consolatus est, in reparatione hominum. *Abraham*.—i. pater excelsus interpretatur. *Isac*.—i. risus interpretatur, quia per miraculum datus est. 8. *Immun tísat*.—i. tísat immuno [may they come about us]. *Adamna*.—i. adamni. .i. gortca [i. the spelling ought to be adamni, i. e. famine], .i. quia per Adam venit dolor. 9. *Athair*.—i. Jacob. *Tri cethrur*.—i. xii. patriarcha. *Joseph*.—i. augmentum interpretatur. *An uasal*.—i. an uasal fep [the noble man]. 10. *Níl aingílech*.—[of many angels] .i. quia [multos] angelos tenet.

syllables; and that there is rhyme or assonance between the final syllables of each line. The word *Sen* in modern Irish signifies luck or prosperity, but in the ancient language it is of frequent occurrence in the sense of *benediction*, as in the Feilire of Aengus, *Sen a Chpirt mo labra*, "Bless, O Christ, my lips." *Sen* *Oe* is the blessing of God, *Oe* being the genitive case of *Dia*, God. *Donsa*.—This seems like a future, or optative of some old verb, *bunaím*, or *bonaím*. In the Gloss on *popboince*, we are told that *de* or *ce* is for *ci*, *come*; and, therefore, the passage is paraphrased thus: "May the blessing of God be given by Him, may it come upon us." In more modern Irish, *Sen Oe go b-cígib, op-paínn go b-cígib. Ron feladar*.—The word *pon* is a synthetic union of the verbal prefix *po*, with *inn* the accusative form of *pinn*, *us*. The termination *abap* represents, in the modern lan-

guage, the 3rd person plural of the preterite; whereas, in *pelabap*, it is the 3rd singular present indicative active, with an optative signification. Dr. O'Donovan mentions *ertap*, or *artap*, as a termination of the 3rd person singular preterite (*Gramm.* p. 157). But *abap* as a termination of the 3rd person singular *present* is the ancient form of the verb deponent; (see Zeuss, *Grammat. Celt.*, p. 444-5). The verb *pelaim*, or *pi-laim*, is evidently the Latin *velare*. See the Gloss. *Mac Máipe*, now usually written *Mac Muípe*, is the ordinary Irish designation of our Lord.

2. *Fuocessam*.—See line 52. This word is a substantive, and we must understand some word signifying *give*, or *grant*, to obtain the interpretation of "May he protect." The termination *pam*, or *prum*, *ille*, *ipse*, is the emphatic termination. Zeuss, p. 334. *Faoirpeam* is still used to signify *help*, *succour*. *Dun* is the ancient

SNAIBSIUM MOISI BEGTUISECH RONSNAIB TRIA RUBRUM MAIRE
IESU AARON MACC AMRA DAUID IN GILLA DANA

IOB COSNAPOCHAIBIB SECH NA NEMI RONSNAIDA
PATHI FIADAT RONANSET LA SECHT MACCU MOCABA

E OIN BAPTAIST ADSLUINNEM ROP DICIU DUN ROP SNABUD 15
IESU CON APSTALAIB ROP DIAR COBAIR PRI GABUD

Gloss.—11. *Snaisium*.—i. non pñade pñob [may he protect us]. *Moisi*.—i. aquaticus, interpretatur, quia de Nilo flumine sumptus est. *Ronsnaid*.—i. populum Israel. 12. *Jesu*.—i. mac Nán [son of Nun]. *Aaron*.—i. mons fortitudinis interpretatur. *David*.—i. fortis manus interpretatur. 13. *Job*.—i. dolens interpretatur. 14. *Fiadat*.—i. fiada .i. po dia, .i. dia maith [fiada, i.e. po. good, and dia, God, the good God]. 15. *Eoin*.—i. in quo gratia interpretatur. *Baptaiist*.—i. qui Christum baptizavit. *Adsluinnem*.—i. arluindmeit ap canbeir pñor in hac laube [we declare our love (or reverence) for him in this song of praise]. 16. *Apstalaib*.—Apostolus Grece, missus interpretatur Latine. *Diar cobair*.—i. cipac diar cobair [may they come to our relief].

form of buinn, i. e., do inn, to us. Innocht would now be written anocht, hac nocte. Zeuss, p. 1130. *Tiasam*.—Here we have the ancient termination of the 1st person plural, am, instead of the modern mto, or maoid. The am is clearly the Latin *amus*. The modern Irish to express “wheresoever we go” would be, cibe áic a b-céigimto.

4. *Issed*.—For ip eb, est id: eb is the ancient neuter form of the pronoun. Zeuss, p. 333. *Attach*.—Or atach, a request or supplication, .i. gairbe. O’Clery. *Adessam*.—This is a 1st person plural, according to the Gloss.

5. *Itge*.—Or icce, a form of attach, v. 4. The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names Abel and Adam, are taken from St. Jerome.

6. *Ron soerat*.—non, for po inn, see note, v. 1. The termination poep-at would now be poep-aib, 3rd person plural. *Secip*.—Sometimes written cécip, the same as the modern gibe, for gib be, or cib b’e, whatsoever. *Fon mbith*.—It will

be observed that here, and in several other places in this MS., as ngle, ver. 37, haingliu, ver. 43, the eclipsing m or n is marked with a dot; and in the Gloss on ver. 5, in galup nbian.

7. *Noe*.—The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names, *Noe*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, are from St. Jerome.

8. *Tisat*.—See above, v. 2, note. Here we have the old termination of the 3rd person plural, which is now aib. This word would now be written cigib, or ciağ-aib. *Damna*.—*Damnatio*. The gloss on this word seems to consider the prep. a an essential part of it; and tells us that adamna, or adamni, signifying famine, or hunger, is derived from Adam, because by Adam came all suffering.

9. *Ailme*.—For ailim, or ailem.—The transposition of the e may possibly be an error of the transcriber.

11. *Snaisium*.—*May he protect*. On the termination pñum, see note, v. 2. *Moisi*.—The gloss interprets the name of *Moses* “aquaticus.” St. Jerome, more correctly,

Maire ioseph don ringrat et spiritus stepani
as cach inġ don forslaice taithmet anma iġnat

Cech martir cech dithrubach cech noeb ro bai hinġenmnai
rop sciath dun diar nimbeġail rop saiget huan friðemnai 20

Reġem reġum roġamus in nostris sermonibus
anacht noe a luchtlach oĩlũũ temporibus

Gloss.—17. *Maire*.—i. stilla vel stella maris, interpretatur. *Joseph*.—i. אוֹסֵף יִשׁוּ [the tutor (or foster-father) of Jesus]. *Don ringrat*.—i. non coġrat diaġnnanacul [may they come to our protection]. *Spiritus*.—i. anima vel gratia ejus. *Stepani*.—i. coronatus interpretatur. 18. *Forslaice*.—i. non puoġlaice [may it deliver us]. *Taithmet*.—i. pon aichmet [commemorate]. 19. *Martir*.—i. pro Deo. *Dithrubach*.—[a hermit] i. pro Deo. *Noeb*.—[saint] i. pro Deo. *Hi ngenmnai*.—i. virginitate]. 21. *In nostris*.—i. in Scotica lingua, vel huius ymni. 22. *Anacht*.—i. מִן אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים [the King who saved]. *A luchtlach*.—i. lucht locha, no a lucht dub .i. [his company on the water, or his black company] Noe cum suis tribus filiis et .iiii. uxores eorum.

“sumptus ex aqua, sive assumptio.” The interpretations of *Aaron* and of *David*, gloss, v. 12, although not very correct, are from St. Jerome. The interpretation of *David*, “manus fortis,” occurs in Origen and other ancient writers, and seems to have been taken from מַי, *sufficiens*, and מַי, *manus*—an etymology which exhibits a curious ignorance of Hebrew. *Ronsmaid*.—i.e., po inn pnaib, or po pnaib inn, *who protected us*.

13. *Sech*.—*Over, beyond*,—præter, ultra, supra. Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.* p. 612.

14. *Fvadat*.—This is a very ancient word, signifying the true or good God. The gloss, as above, is an attempt to give its etymology. The scholiast there tells us that pıabat is the same as pıaba, which is derived from po oia, which he explains oia march, *good God*—po, *good*; oia, *God*.—See above, p. 84, note 9.

15. *Rop*.—For po ba, which in modern Irish is ġo mba, *may he be*; where it is

to be observed that the ancient po is the equivalent of ġo, giving the optative sense, and not a mere sign of the preterite indicative. *Ditiu*.—This word is now dıoin, or dıbean.

17. *Maire*.—The interpretation of the name of Mary, “stilla maris,” is evidently founded on the Hebrew form of the name *Miriam*, as if from מֵר, *a drop*, and ים, *the sea*. *Stella* seems a misspelling of *stilla*, having, so far as I know, no foundation in any Hebrew etymology. But it occurs in all the editions of St. Jerome's *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum*, where we have the following:—“*Mariam* plerique æstimant interpretari *illuminant me isti*, vel *illuminatrix* [from the root מֵרָאָה], vel *smyrna maris* [מֵרִים], sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam *stellam* [read *stillam*] *maris*, sive *amarum mare* [root מֵרָר]. Sciendumque quod *Maria*, sermone Syro, *domina* nuncupetur.” *Don ringrat*.—This is glossed pon coġrat, the

Melchisedech rex salem incerto de semine
RON soerat a ainríghe ab omni formidine

Soter soerus loth ví thein qui per secula habetur 25
ut nos omnes precamur liberare dignetur

Abram de ur na gálbái snaibsiúm ruri ronsnáda
soersum soerus in popul limpa pontis ingaba

Gloss.—23. *Melchisedech*.—i. rex justitiae interpretatur. 25. *Soerus*.—i. po roeparcat [who delivered]. *Loth*.—i. declinans, interpretatur. Loth mac Aran, mío Thara, frater Sarra [Lot the son of Haran, son of Tara, brother of Sara]. 28. *Soersum*.—i. po roepa rinn [may he rescue us]. *Limpa*.—i. cohoim abainn [that is a river]. *Ingaba*.—i. ip in gabub ipabacai sine aqua quando venit ex Egypto [i. the need in which they were without water, when they came out of Egypt].

don, or pon, being *quod nos* (see note on v. 6). The verbs *ringrat* and *cograt* are the 3rd person plural present, of which the modern form would be *ringraib* and *cograib*. The meaning seems to be, "May they be pleased to come to our protection." *Cograim* is *to choose, to will, to desire*.

18. *Ignati*.—Over this word is a note taken from some ancient martyrology: a portion of it has been cut away by the binder. What remains is as follows:—"i. Ignatius episcopus secundus post Petrum in Antiochia primus, et passus sub Traiano imperatore. Ignatius a leonibus et aliis bestiis . ." It will be observed that Ignatius is here styled "secundus post Petrum," instead of "tertius," as in the Roman Martyrology, Feb. 1.

22. *A luchtlach*.—The gloss on this word gives two meanings of it, derived from the double signification of *loch*, which may mean either *water*, or *black*.

23. *Rex Salem*.—Here in the MS. we have the following note as a gloss:

"Hieronymus. Aiunt Ebrei hunc esse Sem filium Noe; et supputantes annos vitae ipsius .cccc. ostendunt eum usque ad Isaac vixisse. Alii hunc esse quendam Cannaneum et ignotum cuius Ebrei genealogiam ignorant. Secundum autem Augustinum et Origenem, non homo fuit, sed angelus Domini. Homo sine patre et sine matre et sine genealogia esse non potest." And in the margin: "Hieronymus. Salem, non ut Josephus et nostrorum omnes arbitrantur, idem est et Hierusalem, sed oppidum iuxta Scithopolim, quod appellatur Salem, et dicitur venisse Jacob in Salem civitatem regionis Sichem, quæ est in terra Chanaan."—See St. Jerome's *Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* [in c. xiv. 18], and *Epist. 73 ad Evangelum*, de Melchisedec, n. 2 and 7 (ed. Vallars.), in which last place the above extract about Salem occurs nearly verbatim. Cf. August. *Quæst. in Heptat.* lib. i. 74 [in Gen. xxv. 22].

24. *Ron soerat*.—For po innroepat a ainríghe; in modern Irish, *go po roeparó a upnaígte inn*, *May his prayers deliver us*.

RURI ANACHT TRI MACCU AS URNN TENED CO RUADU
RON NAIN AMAL RO ANACHT DAUID DE MANU GOLA

30

FLAITHEM NIME LOCHARNAIG ARDONROIGSE DIAR TROGI
NAD LEIC SUUM PROPETAM ULLI LEONUM ORI

AMAL FOEBES IN AINGEL TARSLAIC PETRUM A SLABREID
DO ROITER DUN DIAR PORTACHT ROP REID REMUNN CECH NAMREID

Gloss.—29. *Ruri*.—i. ῥοῦρι [i. Great King]. *Anacht*.—i. po angetcap [i. saved or protected].
31. *Flaithem*.—i. flaith em [i. noble sovereign]. *Locharnaig*.—i. polurca [luminous]. *Ardon-
roigse*.—i. ar po ainghe [i. may he have mercy]. 34. *Do roiter*.—i. a Deo.

25. *Soter*.—Here our author employs a Greek word, upon which the scholiast has written the following note in the margin of the MS.: “Soter, .i. Ebreice, ih̄s, Grece; Salvator, Latine;” where the words “Ebreice” and “Grece” ought to be transposed. *Soerus*.—The relative form of the present indicative active, *who delivers*. The gloss says it is put for the preterite *ro soerastar*, who delivered. *Loth*.—Interpreted in the gloss *declinans*, from St. Jerome, but it really means *velamen*, a veil, or covering. *Qui per secula*.—i. e., the Saviour who lives throughout all ages, and is as able to deliver us now as he was to deliver Lot (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 7), we pray him that he vouchsafe to deliver us all.

27. *Abram*.—Here we have the gloss: “.i. Pater excelsus interpretatur, *Abba* enim pater, *ram*, excelsus. Abraham pater multarum interpretatur, et subintellige gentium.”

27. *De Ur*.—In the margin is the following note on this word: “In Ebreo habetur in Ur Chethisim, i. in igne Caldeorum. Tradunt autem Ebrei ex hac occasione istiusmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem

misus est, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Caldei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idololatriæ igne profugerit: quod in sequentibus scribitur, egressum esse Tharam cum sobole sua de regione Caldeorum; pro quo in ebreo habetur de incendio Caldeorum, et missus est Aram adhuc ante conspectum patris sui Thara in igne Caldeorum, quod videlicet ignem nollens adorare igne consumptus est. Loquitur autem Dominus postea ad Abram dicens, Ego sum qui eduxi te de igne Caldeorum.” These words occur in St. Jerome’s *Quæst. Hebraic. in Gen. xi. 28*.

27. *Ronsnada*.—For po e rnsnada, *he who protected him*.

28. *Soersum*.—The gloss on this word is worthy of notice, as it tells us that the ancient termination *pum* in verbs, instances of which frequently occur in this Hymn, is the pronoun *ῥῑnn*, *we*, or *us*. Thus *paœppam*, may he protect *us*, ver. 2; *ciaciapam*, wherever *we* go, ver. 2; *pnatopium*, protect *us*, ver. 11, 27.

29. *Tri maccu*.—Here we find the following note: “.i. Sedrac, Misac, Abdinago, nomina eorum apud Caldeos; Annanias,

Diar fiadat rontolomar nostro opere digno
robem occa im bith bethaid in paradisi regno 35

Amal soeras ionas faich a bru mil moir monar ngle
snaidsiunn deḡ ri tomtach tren sen de donpe fordonce

Ro fir a fiada ro fir roerthar in guibise
ro bet maccan flatha de hi timcuairt na sculse 40

Ro fir a fiada rop fir risam huile sith ino riḡ
sechroiseb roissam hi flaithe nime cotrissam

Robbem cen es hillethu la haiḡliu im bith bethu
* * * * *

Gloss.—35. *Diarfiadat*.—i. dāp dia maith [to our good God]. *Rontolomar*.—i. rotholt-nagem [we desire]. 38. *Tomtach*.—i. tomaithmech [forgiving]. 39. *A fiadu*.—i. a be maith [O good God]. *Roerthar*.—i. roepmichir [let it be granted, or performed]. 40. *Maccan*.—i. meicbecca acbalat pochetop in sanctitate post baptismum [little children who die immediately in holiness after baptism]. 41. *Sith*.—i. celum. 43. *Hillethu*.—i. hi pappinge [in expansion, or space].

Azarias, Misael, nomina eorum apud Ebreos. Et in igne misi sunt; quia noluerunt adorare formam Nabodonostor."

30. *Ron nain*.—Quòd nos protegat.

32. *Nadleic*.—For na do léic: na, the negative relative, "who not;" do léic, now do leiḡ (from leiḡim, "I leave, or permit"). *Suum profetam*.—Here we have the following note: ".i. Danielelem, qui bis in Babilonia traditus est leonibus, et fuit cum eis in lacu leonum per ebdomadam plenam sine cibo."

33. *Foedes*.—Over this word is the following note: "Herodes Agrippa occidit Jacobum filium Zebedei, et tradidit Petrum iiii. quaternionibus in carcerem ad custodiendum, et liberavit eum Dominus per angelum suum."—*Poeder*, now *paoider*, is the historical present of *paoidim*, *I send*.

36. *Robem*, and in l. 43, *robhem*, for co po be inn, i. e., ḡo po be rinn, that we may be: in modern Irish, ḡo paḡamar, ḡo paḡamuib, or ḡo paib rinn.

37. *Jonas*.—We have here this note: ".i. Dolens, sive Columba, interpretatur; filius Amathi et viduæ quam suscitavit Helias quando hospitavit apud eam, fugiens Achab regem in tempore famis."—See St. Jerome's *Præfat. in Jonam*.

43. *Bethu*.—Here an entire line is omitted in the MS., without any mark of omission. In the margin there is a note which has been so injured by the plough of the binder, that it is very obscure. What remains is as follows:—"Lechpanb ro, ḡ ipeab apail in lechpanb ail occaineo diatopacht atp ben-galup mapu lechpann cech ai dib do ponpat anuap. No ipeab Cholman im-

S

Reraig faichti cen dibad aingil apstail and pegab
 tairset li ar nachar nemba ria sluag ndemna diarsenad 45
 sen be

bendacht for erlam patraic connoebaib herenn imme
 bennacht forsín cathrigse ocus for cach fíl inoi

bennacht for erlam brigib con ogaib herenn impe
 tabraib huile cain forgalb bendacht for ordan brigte

Gloss.—44. *Reraig*.—i. *ronfíg, no rerpíg* [great kings, or noble kings], i. qui fuerunt ante diluvium. *Cendibad*.—i. in pena. *Ard fegad*.—i. *ir apb pegab* [it is a noble sight] angelorum et apostolorum. 45. *Tairset*.—i. huc usque cecinit Colman. 46. *For erlam*.—*erlam*, i. *ép ellam*, i. *abbul ellam* *fpi beannaim penta 7 mfrbaile* [Erlam, i. e. a ready champion, i. e. very ready to perform wonders and miracles]. *Patraic*.—i. *for in eplam ar patrpaic* [on the patron who is Patrick]. 47. *Indi*.—i. *in te* [in it].

oppo aonur do pigne in immuno co
 huile 7 foracaib in lethpenn po
 appo ecomlanpaigbia mo chetepnem
 ecomlanaigpe re amolab rom; which
 may be translated: "This is a half stanza,
 and there is another, viz., the remaining
 half stanza, lamenting their coming . . .
 out of the land on account of
 the plague, if it was half a stanza each of
 them made all along down. Or it was
 Colman alone who composed the whole
 hymn, and he left this half stanza, so that
 if God should leave him with the loss of
 his company, His praise should be left
 deficient by him." The meaning of this
 last clause seems to be, that if we suppose
 Colman alone to have composed the hymn,
 he may have left the stanza deficient de-
 signedly, intending to complete it by an
 expression of thankfulness or praise, if he
 and his company should escape the pesti-
 lence. But if God did not think fit to
 preserve them, then the intended praises
 of God must remain unsung. The for-

mer clause is very obscure, because de-
 fective. Perhaps the meaning may be,
 that as each of the scholars made half a
 stanza, one half stanza would necessarily be
 left deficient, if the number of scholars
 should be diminished [by the plague].
 At all events it is evident that the defect
 is an original one, and was so regarded by
 the ancient scholiast, who has in this note
 given us his explanation of it.

45. *Sen Da*.—These are the words with
 which the hymn begins, placed here as a
 sort of colophon, according to a custom al-
 ready noticed at p. 23 above. The gloss
 here shows that this was understood by
 the scholiast to have been the end of the
 original Hymn, as it says "Huc usque
 cecinit Colman;" and indeed the remainder
 bears evident marks of having been added
 at a later age. See note on line 51, p.
 136, *infra*.

50. *Columella*.—The gloss on this
 line is an explanation of the reason why
 Colum received the appellation of Colum-

bendacht for columcille connoebaib alban alla
for anmain adamnan ain rola cain fors na clanna

for foesam rig na ndula comairche nachan bera
in spirut noeb ronbroena criost ronsoera ronsena
sen de

Opent ppo nobir panti illi in celis, quorum memoriam facimur in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem panti nominis tui ihu, ⁊ mirepere qui pignar in pecula peculorum. Amen.

Gloss.—50. *Colum*.—i. collum ap a diuceót dictus est [he is called Collum (Columba), from his harmlessness]. *Cille*.—i. quia frequenter veniebat ad Oapru nchill, .i. acelaig dubh glaire quia a ab campum ppo ciuitate ueniet l ene et ticebant expectem [cil]le inde dicitur [ert]. *Alban*.—i. ppo muir anair [by the sea on the east].

cille, or Colum of the Church. It is so obliterated, that nothing can be read with certainty, except the words above given, which suffice to show that the substance of the note was the same with that given in Irish by the annotator of the Feilire of Aengus (in the *Leabhar Breac*) at the 9th June, in these words:—Colum ppo simplicitate eiu dicitur ert. Cille .i. ap thriachtain comenice on cill in po leg a falmu h comail na lenab comocur. Baead abbertippen etappu, in canic ap Colum becn on chill .i. o Thelaig Dubhglairri h Tir Lugoach i Cinel Conaill. “He was called *Colum* (a dove), for his simplicity, and *Cille* (of

the Church), from his coming frequently from the church in which he read his Psalms, into the company of the neighbouring children; and they used to say then amongst themselves, ‘Has our little Colum come from the church’ (cill), i. e., from Tulach Dubhglaisse in Lugaidh’s territory in Cinel Conail.” TulachDubhglaisse [now Templedouglass, near Kilmacrenan] was the name of the church in which St. Columcille was baptized.—O’Donnell, *Vit. S. Columbæ*, lib. i. c. 25 (apud Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.* p. 393).—See Adamnan’s *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, Append. to Preface, p. lxx., lxxi., notes ‘ and “.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Scholiast's Preface and of the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, and of the foregoing Hymn :

Sen de. Colman, Mac Uí Cúasaigh, Reader of Cork, composed this Hymn, to protect himself from the *buidhechair* [yellow pestilence], which was [prevalent] in the reign of the sons of Aedh Slane^a. For the people were very numerous in Erin at that time; and so great were their numbers, that the land could afford but thrice nine ridges to each man in Erin, viz., nine of bog, nine of field, and nine of wood; therefore the noblemen of Erin fasted along with the sons of Aedh Slane, with Fechin^b of Fabhar, and with Aileran^c, and with Manchan of Liath^d, and with very many besides, for the reduction of the population, because of

^a *The sons of Aedh Slaine*.—Diarmaid and Blathmac, the sons of Aedh Slane, reigned conjointly from A. D. 658 to 664, in which last year they died of the great pestilence (*Four Masters. Keating. O'Flaherty*). On the history of this pestilence see Dr. O'Connor's note on the *Annals of Tighernach, Rev. Hib. Script.* vol. ii. p. 204.

^b *Fechin*.—Of Fabhar, or Fore, in the county of Westmeath. See his Life in Colgan, at 20th of Jan., *Act. SS.*, p. 130.

^c *Aileran*.—This word is somewhat obscure in the MS.; but I think I have correctly deciphered it. Aileran was of the celebrated school or University of Cluain-iraird, now Clonard, in the county of Meath, and was surnamed *Eḡḡnāḡḡe*, or The Wise. Fleming, or his Editor, Sirinus, has published Aileran's "Interpretatio mystica progenitorum D. Jesu Christi," from a MS. in the Monastery of St. Gall: *Collectan. Sacr.* p. 182, sq.; and Colgan attributes to him the Life of Patrick, which stands fourth in his collection; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 35.

^d *Manchan of Liath*.—The Annals of Tighernach call him Bishop of Liath, now Liath-Manchain, or Lemanaghan, in the King's County; a place which was originally called Tuaim nEirc, or Erc's Tumulus (*Four Masters, A. D. 645*). The word Liath, (or Leigh, which is the genitive form of Liath), signifies gray, or boggy land. The following interesting mention of St. Manchan occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal at January 24:—*Manchán lech, mac Inbairge. Mella ann a mhaḡar 7 a beipir beipibḡeḡar .i. ḡnella 7 ḡneillpech. Aḡḡ a eaḡlaip baḡab annm liat Manchán, no leit Manchán, a nDealḡna meḡ Coḡlám. Aḡḡḡ a ḡaipir ipin mbaile ceḡna i pḡrḡn aḡḡ ap na cuḡmbaḡḡo ḡo beipḡḡaḡḡe le cláḡnḡḡ bon leit aḡḡḡ 7 ḡ ḡḡna bon leit amuḡḡ ḡḡḡeip ap na pḡonḡnḡḡ ḡo ḡo beipḡḡaḡḡe. "Manchan of Liath, the son of Indaigh [*Jilius Indaigh*, Colgan, *Act. SS.*, p. 330, n. 6]. Mella was the name of his mother. His two sisters were Grella and Grellseach. His church, which is named Liath Man-*

the scarcity of food, which was the consequence of their great numbers. And it was on that account that the *buidhechair* was sent upon them: so that the sons of Aedh Slane died of it in that year, also the learned men above mentioned, et alii multi.

Some say that it was Colman composed the whole of it. Other people say that he composed but two stanzas of it only, and that the school* made the rest, i. e., each man of them made each a half stanza.

It was composed in Cork, in the time of the two sons of Aedh Slane, viz., Blaithmac and Diarmaid. And this was the occasion on which it was composed: a great plague that was sent upon the men of Erin, viz., the *buidhe connail* [or yellow plague], which pervaded all Erin, and left only one out of every three persons alive in Erin; and it was to save them [i. e., the survivors], with his own school, from that pestilence, that Colman composed this Hymn. And the place where he happened to compose it was in the course of his voyage to a certain island of the sea of Erin, flying abroad from this pestilence, until there were nine waves between him and the land, for the plague did not extend further, as the learned relate. And a certain man of the school of Colman asked what blessing there was for them, in search of which they had set out on that journey. Then Colman said, "What blessing dost thou need," said he, "but The blessing of God?" For what they desired was to go out upon the islands of the sea, to escape from the distemper.

THE blessing of God come upon us; may the Son of Mary cover us;
May He protect us this night, wherever we go though great our numbers.

WHETHER at rest or in motion; whether sitting or standing;
The King of Heaven be against every assault; this is the supplication that we offer up.

THE Prayer of Abel, son of Adam, of Heli and Enoch, be our help;
May they free us from the sudden pestilence, whatsoever part of the world it threatens.

NOE, and Abraham; Isaac, the admirable son;
May they come around us against the pestilence, that we come not to trouble.

chain, or Leith Manchain, is in Delbhna Mec Cochain. His relics are in the same place, in a shrine that is beautifully ornamented, with boards in the inside, and bronze on the outside of them, and splendidly carved." This remarkable shrine still exists. It is preserved in the Roman Catholic chapel at Lemanachain, although the relics of the saint have long since disappeared from it. It is greatly mutilated; but enough remained to enable

Dr. Carte, of the Royal Dublin Society, to make a model of it in electrotype, which was exhibited in the Antiquarian Department of the Dublin Exhibition in 1853. This beautiful model is now in the possession of John Lentaigine, Esq., of Dublin.

* *The school*—i. e. the school over which he presided, or his scholars. See note on line 43, *supra*.

' *The blessing of God*.—Alluding to the words with which the Hymn begins.

I BESEECH the father of thrice four persons, and Joseph the illustrious ;
May their prayers to the noble King of many angels deliver us. 10

MAY Moses the good leader protect us, who protected in crossing the Red Sea ;
Jesus ; Aaron son of Amra ; David the bold youth.

JOB, with his diseases, protect us against the poison :
The prophets of the Lord guard us, with the seven sons of Maccabæus.

JOHN the Baptist we name ; be he our covering, be he our protection : 15
Jesus, with His Apostles, be our help against danger.

MARY, Joseph, guard us, and the spirit of Stephen ;
Out of every difficulty may it deliver us, to invoke the name of Ignatius.

EVERY Martyr, every Hermit, every Saint who was in chastity,
Be a shield to us, for our defence ; be an arrow from us against demons. 20

REGEM regum rogamus, in nostris sermonibus,
Who saved Noe and his company, diluvii temporibus.

MELCHISEDECH, rex Salem, incerto de semine,
May his prayers deliver us ab omni formidine.

THE Saviour who delivered Lot from the fire, qui per secula habetur, 25
Ut nos omnes, precamur, liberare dignetur.

ABRAM from Ur of the Chaldees ; may the Lord who protected him protect us ;
May He save us, who saved the people, when in want of lymphæ fontis.

THE Lord, who delivered the three youths from the oven of red fire,
Deliver us, as he delivered David de manu Goliæ. 30

9. *The father*.—"The father of thrice four," viz., Israel, the father of the twelve patriarchs.

10. *To the noble King*, i. e. their prayers addressed to the noble King.

18. *May it deliver us*, i. e. may the invocation of the name of Ignatius deliver us.

21. *In nostris*.—The Gloss on the original of this passage gives two interpretations of it—either "in our vernacular Scottish or Irish language," in *Scot-*

ica lingua ; or "in this our hymn," in *sermonibus hujus hymni*. As the original is here partly Irish and partly Latin, I have translated the Irish only, leaving the Latin lines as they stand in the text.

23. *Incerto*.—Alluding to Heb. vii. 3.

28. *Lymphæ fontis*.—Num. xx. 2, sq.

29. *Red fire*.—Literally, "from a furnace, or oven, of fire with redness: "Ceciderunt in medio camino ignis ardentis colligati."—Dan. iii. 23.

THE noble Sovereign of the brilliant heaven, may He have mercy on our misery :
Who did not leave suum prophetam ulli leonum ori.

LIKE as He sent the Angel to deliver Peter from his chains ;
So may He send to us for our relief : may He make smooth for us, whatsoever
is not smooth.

TO our Lord we submit our will, nostro opere digno,
That we may be with Him in eternal life, in Paradisi regno. 35

AS He delivered Jonas the prophet from the whale's belly—great deed,
The good King grant us powerful protection; the blessing of God come upon us.

MAY it be true, O Lord, may it be true, that this prayer be granted ;
That the children of God's kingdom may be around this School. 40

MAY it be true, O Lord, that it become true, that we all reach the peace of the King,
That wherever we go, or arrive, we may reach the Kingdom of Heaven.

THAT we be without age, in endless space, with angels, in life eternal.
* * * * *

PATRIARCHS, Prophets, without fail, Angels, Apostles, glorious vision !
Come they with our Heavenly Father ; against hosts of demons to bless us. 45
SEN DE.

A BLESSING upon the Patron Patrick, with the saints of Erin around him :
A blessing upon this city, and upon every one that is therein.

34. *Not smooth*.—Literally, "May every roughness [everything that is not smooth, cech n-am-neib] be made smooth before us."

37. *Whale's belly*.—Literally, "From the belly of the great animal," msl, or mfol, mól, is the name still given to a whale both in Ireland and in Scotland.

40. *Children of God's kingdom*, i. e. the angels. A different interpretation is given in the Gloss, viz. the spirits of children who die after baptism, before the commission of actual sin.

43. *Without age*, i. e. without growing old.—

Endless space: literally, in broadness, or expansion. lu [for i. in] léchu, breadth, extent, glossed by pappinge, space, expansion, room.

44. *Glorious vision*.—Literally, "high-seeing," apb-pegab: which perhaps may mean that angels and apostles behold us from on high.

45. *Come*, i. e. may they come: cannet is the 3rd person plural. *Protect us*.—Literally, "be for our blessing," or "protection," diaq, now b'ap, i. e. do ap, for our, pénað, blessing.

46. *The Patron*.—The word translated *patron*

A BLESSING upon the Patron Brigid, with the virgins of Erin around her,
Give ye all, without guile, a blessing upon the dignity of Brigid.

A BLESSING on Colum-cille, with the saints of Alba along with him, 50
On the soul of the pure Adamnan, who put a law on the clans.

UPON the protection of the King of the Elements, a guardianship from which we
cannot be taken,

May the Holy Ghost inspire us ; may Christ deliver us ; may He bless us.

SEN DE.

ORENT pro nobis sancti illi in cœlis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem sancti nominis tui Jesu, et miserere, qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

ⁱs enlām, which originally, perhaps, signified noble, but is now applied to the saint who is regarded as a patron. The verses which follow from line 46 to the end formed no part of the original Hymn, which ended at line 45, as is evident from the repetition of the first words, Sen De, according to a practice that has been already noticed. See p. 23.

47. *This city*, i.e. this monastery: the place in which these additional verses were added. Thus the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 806) record the foundation of the Columbian monastery of Kells in these words: "Constructio novæ civitatis Columbæcille in Ceninnua." It is in this sense the word is used in the Hymn of St. Mugint, vv. 2 and 5 (pp. 95, 96 *supra*), a fact which was overlooked when the note, p. 95, was written.

49. *Dignity*.—So the word *onban* is explained

in several ancient Glossaries. *Onban* .i. uaral gnað, "a noble degree, or dignity" (MS. H. 3, 8, p. 550, Trin. Coll. Dubl.) *Onban* .i. uaral ut epc rapuðað *onban* .i. rapuðað in uaral—"a noble person, as, to violate an *ordan*, is to violate (or insult) a noble person."—*O'Davoren, Gloss.*

50. *Along with him*.—*Alle*, now *imaille*.

51. *A law*.—*Cain*, a rule, precept, commandment, from *canon*. This is a remarkable allusion to the *Cain Adamnain* (canon, or code of laws drawn up by Adamnan), so frequently mentioned in the Annals and Brehon Laws; and proves that these last four stanzas must have been added in or after the eighth century. For the *Cain Adamnani* was compiled A. D. 697, and Adamnan died A. D. 704. See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 178, and note ^b.

VI. THE HYMN OF ST. CUCHUIMNE.

THE following Hymn has been published by Mone, in his *Hymni Latini Medii Ævi* (vol. ii. p. 383), from a collation of three MSS. The first is that preserved at Bâle, of which some account has already been given, p. 55, *supra*. The second is a MS. of the ninth century, in an Irish hand, now at Karlsruhe. The third is a MS. of the eighth century, according to Mone's judgment, also preserved at Karlsruhe, and written in a French hand. Both these Karlsruhe MSS. belonged formerly to the monastery of Reichenau.

The readings of these MSS. are given in the notes: those of the Bâle MS. are denoted by the letter B.; and those of the two Karlsruhe MSS. in the order in which they are spoken of above, by the letters K. and R. The MS. B. has been collated by the Editor himself; but the readings of K. and R. are given on the authority of Mone.

None of these MSS. have the introductory Scholium or Preface, which is now for the first time printed, from the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*; but in the Codex R. we find the title "*Himnus Sanctæ Mariæ*."

How far we can depend upon Mone's judgment in the opinion he has given of the age of these MSS. seems doubtful; for he assigns the Bâle MS. to the eighth century, which is at least a century, if not two centuries, older than the true date, so far as the Greek Psalter is concerned: and he does not seem to have observed that the Hymn *Cantemus* has been written in a hand of about two centuries' later date. Those who are not accustomed to Irish MSS. are very naturally disposed to make them older than they really are, because the Irish scribes retained the old forms of handwriting much longer than Continental transcribers.

The Scholium prefixed to the Hymn identifies the author of it with the "Cuchuimne sapiens," who is said by our Annalists to have died early in the

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eighth century ; and the age of the MSS. in which the Hymn has been found confirms the high antiquity thus ascribed to it. In the Additional Note B the Editor has collected all that he has been able to discover of the history of Cuchuimne.

The classical reader will not form a high idea of our author's skill in Latin prosody. The following anomalies may be taken as specimens :—*Cantēmus*, line 1 ; *Utēro*, line 8 ; *Extētīt*, line 10 ; *Humāne*, line 12 ; *Mulī-erem*, lines 13, 14 ; *Lorīcam*, line 21 ; *Pīræ, dīræ*, line 24.



CANTEMUS in omni die. Cuchumne fecit hunc ġmnum do molab Maípe oge. In aimpíir imorpo loingíis meico Oengúra ġ Abamnam factur ert. Inceptum ert uero in quo loco eum fecit. Ipe po chunn abenma dia roenab ap in bpooh bea-chaib in pabai. quia coniugem habuit, ġ in mala uita cum illa fuit. no commab do nechigub nemi an eich na bpoacht leir dia legund do ġnech immolabpa do Maípe.

Uc Abamnan dixit:

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro leg ruche co bpuinne,
Allech aile apata, Ro leic ap a chaillecha.

Cuchumne dixit:

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro leg ruche co bpuinne,
Allech aile apata, Legraib leicpib caillecha.

Uel,

Allech naile apaidcui, Legraib huile conop fui.

Upe nichum dan fecit. ġ xiii. coibcíl ann, ġ ba líne in cech coibcíl, ġ xii. pillaba cech líne.

CANTEMUS IN OMNI DIE CONCINENTES VARIE
CONCLAMANTES DEO DIGNUM ĢMNUM SANCTAE MARIAE
bIS PER CHORUM HINC ET INDE COLLAUDEMUS MARIAM
ut uox pulset omnem aurem per laudem uicariam
mARIA DE TRIBU IUDAE SUMMI MATER DOMINI
oportunam dedit curam egrotanti homini

Gloss.—1. *Varie*.—i. inter duos choros. 2. *Mariæ*.—Maria stilla maris interpretatur; et significat ecclesiam inventam in amaritudine seculi.

1. *Concinentes*.—Concinentes, B. Con-
cinnantes varise, B. R.

2. *Mariæ*.—See the note, p. 126, *supra*.

3. *Chorum*.—Corum, B. The ancient
custom of alternate singing is here alluded

to. 4. *Collaudemus*.—Collaudamus, B.
Conlaudamus, K. Conlaudemus, R.

5. *Judæ*.—Juda, B. *Summi*.—Summa,
B. R.

6. *Egrotanti*.—This seems an allusion

Δabriel aduexit uerbum sinu patris paterno
quod conceptum et susceptum in utero materno

haec est summa haec est sancta uirgo uenerabilis
quae ex fide non recessit sed exstetit stabilis 10

huic matri nec inuenta ante nec post similis
nec de prole fuit plane humanae originis

per mulierem et lignum mundus prius perit
per mulieris uirtutem ad salutem rediit

maria mater miranda patrem suum edidit
per quem aqua late lotus totus mundus credidit 15

haec concepit margaretam non sunt uana somnia
pro qua sani cristiani uendunt sua omnia

Gloss.—7. *Verbum*.—i. annuntiationem uerbi, i. ave maria plena gratia. 8. *Conceptum*.—i. diuina operante potentia credentis viscera fecundantur. 13. *Lignum*.—i. prevaricationis. 15. *Patrem*.—i. omnium creator de creatura sua procreatur. Fons uitae de riuiulo suo oritur. Uitis uera de uirgultu suo nascitur, et in ligno mortali arbor uitae inseritur, et porta in se uirtus ab infirmis portatur. 17. *Margaretam*.—i. Christum.

to some legend, unless we take *homini* to signify mankind in general.

7. *Patris*.—Prius, B. R. An obvious error. *Paterno*.—Paternæ, R.

8. *Utero*.—The second syllable is here long.

9. *Quæ*.—Hæc fide, R.

10. *Exstetit*.—The second syllable is long.

11. *Huic*.—This word is here a dissyllable. *Matri*.—Matre, R. *Inuenta*.—Inuentam, R.

12. *Prole*.—Flore, R. *Plane*.—Plana, R. *Humane originis*.—This appears strange language, not very consistent with the doctrine of the Incarnation, if we are to take the words in their literal meaning—that the Blessed Virgin was not of mere

human nature (*plane*). The preceding line is not unlike the words of St. Anselm, quoted by Mone: "Nihil est æquale Mariæ, nihil nisi Deus majus Maria."—*Opp. S. Anselmi, Orat.* 51. [*Ed. Bened. Paris.* 1721, p. 281, col. 1. E.]

15. *Maria*.—This stanza, vv. 15, 16, is omitted by B. *Patrem suum*.—So in the Hymn beginning *Dies læta celebratur* (Daniel. *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 212) there is the same idea:—

"Nova prorsus genitura
Creatorem creatura
Patrem parit filia."

16. *Lotus*.—Lota, R.

17. *Margaretam*.—Margaritam, B. *Hæc*.—Quæ, R. Mone erroneously gives *Quæ* as the reading of B.

TONICAM PER TOTUM TEXTAM CRISTI MATER PECERAT
 quæ peracta cristi morte sorte statim steterat 20

INPOUAMUS ARMA LUCIS LORICAM ET GALEAM
 ut simus deo prefecti suscepti per mariam

AMEN AMEN ADIURAMUS MERITA PUERPERÆ
 ut non possit flamma piræ nos diræ decipere

Gloss.—19. *Tonicam*.—Concipitur hincip imliban [a suitable, long tunic]. *Totum*.—i. corpus. *Textam*.—i. cen uam and ecip [without any seam in it at all]. 20. *Sorte*.—i. sine partitione. 21. *Loricam*.—Lorica dicta eo quod loris caret. 22. *Amen*.—i. vere, vel fideliter. *Puerperæ*.—i. puerum pariens in ætate pueri, id est in decimo vel in xi. 24. *Piræ*.—i. e. in nabriab gnanna [the ugly torch].

19. *Tonicam*.—Tunicam, K. Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* p. 80, mentions this tradition: "A. D. M.C.LVI. in pago Parisiacensi, monasterio Argentoilo, revelatione divina, tunica Salvatoris inconsutilis et subconfusci coloris reperta est, quam sicut literæ cum ea repertæ indicabant, gloriosa Mater ejus fecerat ei dum adhuc puer esset." Other authorities tell us that it was found in a village called Zaphah, not far from Jerusalem, A. D. 593, in the time of Pope Gregory I. See Jo. Iperii *Chron. S. Bertini*, part iii. (ap. Martene et Durand. *Thes. Anecd.* tom. iii. 451 E.), and *Brevia aliquot Chronica* (*ibid.* 1391. C.). But these Chronicles make no mention of any letters found with it, or of its having been wrought by the hands of the B. Virgin. Neither is that tradition mentioned by Adamnan in his Tract *De locis sanctis*; but it is adopted by Baronius (*Annal.* A.D. 34, n. cxii.), Benedict XIV. (*De Festis Domini*, I. vii. 91. *Opp. tom.* ix. p. 82), and many other theologians. The earliest writer quoted for this tradition is Euthymius Zygabenus, who says: "Hanc

vero tunicam e traditione patrum accepimus opus fuisse Dei Matris a superioribus partibus contextam, veluti sunt apud nos capitis aut pedum hyemalia operimenta."—*Comment. in Quat. Evang.* in Matt. xxvii. 35 (*Bibl. Patr. Lugdun.*, tom. xix. p. 588, E.). This author flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century; so that the present Hymn is a much older authority. *Totum*.—Totam, B. *Christi*.—Christo, K.

21. *Loricam*.—Luricam, B. Lurica, R. *Et galeam*.—Vicarîæ, R.

22. *Prefecti*.—Perfecti, B.

23. *Adjuramus*.—Adoramus, K. Adoremus, R. In R. the last two stanzas are reduced to one; thus:

"Amen, amen, adoremus, angelis sub testibus,
 Ut fruamur et scribamur litteris cœlestibus;"

the intervening clauses being omitted. *Puerperæ*.—The gloss on this word seems to allude to the legend in the *Evangelium de Nativ. Mariæ*, the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, &c., that Mary was dedicated to God at three years of age, and lived in the temple until ten or eleven years old.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE following is a translation of the Scholium or Preface to this Hymn, which is in the usual mixture of Irish and Latin :—

Cantemus in omni die.—Cuchuimne composed this Hymn in praise of the Virgin Mary. Now it was in the time of Loingsech, son of Oengus^a, and of Adamnan, it was composed. It is uncertain, however, in what place he composed it. This was the reason why he composed it, to deliver himself from the evil life he was leading, *quia conjugem^b habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit.* Or it was to facilitate his progress in what he had not yet completed of his studies, that he made this praise of Mary. As Adamnan said :—

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne^c],
Read learned writings half way^d.
The other half of his career
He abandoned for his women.

^a *Loingsech, son of Oengus.*—He was king of Ireland, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology, from A. D. 695 to 704, and was killed in the battle of Corann, county of Sligo, in this latter year. Dr. O'Connor's Tighernach gives 703 as the date of this battle, which, however, ought to be 704, for he adds :—"iv. id. Julii, vi. hora diei Sabbati hoc bellum confectum est." In 704, the 4th of the Ides of July fell on Saturday; in 703 on Thursday: therefore it is evident that Tighernach intended the year 704. The Four Masters give the date 701, which is irreconcilable with the day of the week on which Tighernach (doubtless from some ancient authority) tells us the battle was fought. Adamnan died the same year, 704. Ussher, *Index Chron.*

^b *Conjugem.*—Meaning, it is to be presumed, *Concubinam.* *Vid. Adamnan, Vit. S. Col.* (ed. Reeves), pp. 75-77.

^c *Cuchuimne.*—In the original this word occurs but once; but it was evidently intended to be repeated, as the metre requires; see page 82, *supra*, note °. Dr. O'Donovan overlooked this when he printed these verses in his edition of the Four Masters, A. D. 742.

^d *Halfway.*—*Co Dnuimne* is literally "to the ridge," i. e. to the top or ridge of a hill, which is half way across. The meaning is, that Cuchuimne spent one-half of his time in the study of learned authors, or that he had perused one-half of the learned writers, when he abandoned himself to an irregular life.

Cuchimne said [in reply]—

Cuchimne [Cuchimne],
Read learned writings half way.
The other half of his career*
He will read,—he will abandon[†] women.

Or,

The other half of his career—
He will read them all until he becomes a sage.

He composed it in rhythm; and there are thirteen chapters in it; and two lines in each chapter; and twelve syllables in each line.

The verses, here attributed to Adamnan, are transcribed in a hand of the fourteenth century, in the margin of the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster*, at A. D. 746; but are there attributed, not to Adamnan, but to the *Nurse* of Cuchimne: they are given thus:—

Muime Con-cuimne cecinit:—

Cucumne [Cuchimne],
Ro leḡ fúicí co dhumne,
Gillech naill hapaḡa
Ro leicí ap óailleḡa.

An do Concuimne pombol,
Impuailib de conib roí,
Ro leic caillecha ha paill
Ro leig aluill apich mbol.

The Nurse of Cuchimne sang:—

Cuchimne! [Cuchimne!]
He read learned writings half way;
The other half of his career
He abandoned for women.

Happy is it for Cuchimne,
He has gone forward until he has become a sage;
He has abandoned women to neglect;
He has read the other half of his victorious life.

This seems to be a more ancient form of this curious distich than either of the two texts of it which are given above, or than that of the Four Masters, at A. D. 742, which is as follows, with Dr. O'Donovan's translation (the metrical arrangement being corrected to correspond with the above):—

* *Career*.—The word *paḡa* may be the genitive case of *paḡ*, prosperity, increase, progress, advancement; but Dr. O'Donovan has rendered it "career" (*Four Mast.* A. D. 742), taking it to be *paḡa* running, racing;—course, career.

† *He will abandon*.—The play upon the words *no leḡ* "he read," and *no leic*, "he abandoned," is evidently the point of the first stanza; and so in

Cuchimne's answer there is a play upon *no leḡ*, "he read," *leḡpaib*, "he will read," and *leigpaib*, "he will leave, dismiss, or abandon." It is not to be supposed that these verses can be really the composition of Adamnan; and accordingly the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster* attributes them, not to Adamnan, but to Cuchimne's nurse; showing that he was not known with certainty to be the author.

Cucuimne, [Cucuimne],
 Ro léig fáiche co dhruimne,
 Allech aile annacha,
 Ro leco an a chaillecha.

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 The other half of his career
 He abandoned for his hags.

Fáircan Cucuimne:—

Cuchuimne replied:—

Cucuimne, [Cucuimne],
 Ro léig fáiche co dhruimne,
 Allech aile anna cuí,
 Léigfaid huite conop fúí.

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 During the other half of his career
 He will read till he become an adept.

The meaning, however, in all these readings of the couplet is the same: that Cuchuimne, after spending some years in scholar-like study, was seduced into a life of profligacy; but that he at length, on the remonstrance of his friends, abandoned his vices, and resumed with zeal, for the remainder of his life, the studies becoming an ecclesiastic.

The reader will not fail to remark, that there is great internal evidence of truth in this record of the weakness of Cuchuimne. No mere inventor of legends would have narrated such an event in the life of a writer whom he was quoting as the author of a religious Hymn. See the remarks already made on this subject, p. 92, *supra*.

NOTE B.

History of Cuchuimne.

THE information given us in the Preface, or Scholium, prefixed to the Hymn, and translated in the foregoing note, contains nearly all the information we possess respecting Cuchuimne. He is there said to have lived in the reign of Loingseach Mac Aengusa (who was King of Ireland, A. D. 695 to 703), and appears to have survived that monarch some years. The *Annals of Ulster* record his death at the year 746, in these words: "Cu-cumine" [read *Cucuimne*, as in the Dublin MS.] "sapiens obiit." Tighernach [Dublin MS.] seems to have made the year 747, and gives the obit thus: "Cuimine sapiens obiit." The Four Masters give the date 742, and translate, apparently from the Ulster Annals, thus:—

Cucuimne^a eocnaib togarib eirib do ecc. "Cucuimne, he was a choice sage, died."

They then quote the same verses which are given by the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, attributing them, as that Book does, to Adamnan.

^a *Cucuimne*.—*Cucuimne* is the reading in Dr. press; for the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, O'Donovan's text, but it seems to be an error of the Dublin, reads *Cuchuimne*.

From these verses (see Note A), it appears that Cuchuimne for a time had led an irregular life, "quia conjugem habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit." But during the latter part of his life he repented, and the present Hymn may be received as an evidence that his thoughts were sincerely occupied in holy things. His name does not occur in any of the Irish Calendars or Martyrologies, notwithstanding which, Colgan does not hesitate to give him the title of *saint*.

The name Cu-chuimne [signifying *Hound of Memory*^b] is not of frequent occurrence in Irish Church history, although Cummine, Cummeni, Cummain, which are, perhaps, forms of the same name, are more frequent. Colgan^c has given the following account of the author of this Hymn:—"Sanctus Cuchumneus (qui, addito *Mo* more Hibernis familiari, potuit *Mochumneus* appellari), floruit juste tempore Sancti Aidi Sleptensis, anno 698 mortui. Hic enim in laudem Deiparæ Virginis composuit Hymnum, penes me extantem, qui incipit;

*' Cantemus in omni die, concinnantes variè,
Conclamantes Deo dignum hymnum S. Mariae.'*

Et ut colligitur ex argumento eidem Hymno præfixo, author floruit tempore Adamnani Abbatis, et Longseci Hiberniæ Regis, qui cœpit regnare anno 694. Vixit tamen postea usque ad annum 746, quo Annales Ultonienses referunt *Cucumneum Sapientem* obiisse; vel saltem usque ad annum 724 [read 742], in quem ejus mortem referunt Quatuor Magistri in Annalibus."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, b. This, however, the reader will perceive, gives us no information beyond what we have already gleaned from the authorities cited above: and Colgan has suppressed all mention of Cuchuimne's irregular life, although he declares him to have been contemporary with Adamnan, to whom the verses rebuking that irregularity are, in the Book of Hymns, ascribed. He must, therefore, have seen those verses.

NOTE C.

Maria Stilla Maris.

THE Gloss on the name *Maria* (ver. 2, p. 139, *supra*, and also in the preceding Hymn, ver. 17, p. 126), interprets the name as signifying in Hebrew "*Stilla maris*," from מַר, a drop, and יָם, the sea. See above, p. 126, note.

^b *Hound of Memory*.—"Hound" was an honourable title amongst the ancient Irish. The name may perhaps be equivalent to the mediæval name *Memorius*, or *Memorianus*.

^c *Colgan*.—Harris (*Ware's Writers of Ireland*, p. 46) has mistaken this passage of Colgan. Colgan does not identify *Mocuthenius* with the author of this Hymn, nor does he say "that Ussher had

mistaken the name." He was speaking of the *Maccuthenius*, or *Mochucumneus*, who is said to have written *Acts of St. Patrick*; and he says that, allowing for the Irish custom of prefixing *Mo*, my, to the names of saints, there are two or three saints whose names are mentioned in Irish history (of whom our author is one), any one of whom may have been the biographer of St. Patrick.

Nothing is more common in the orthography of Irish MSS. of the eighth and following centuries, than to find *e* for *i*, as *ancella*, for *ancilla*; *antestes*, for *antistes*, &c.; and also *i* for *e*, as *adoliscens*, *bibliothica*, &c. (see Reeves' *Prof. to Adamnan's Life of Columba*, pp. xvi. xvii.) And in the present case it seems almost certain that the ancient authors who devised this etymology for the Hebrew proper name *Miriam*, (which was Latinized *Maria*), intended *Stilla maris*, "a drop of the sea," and not *stella*, "a star of the sea;" the former having some foundation in Hebrew, the latter none. And the common confusion in the orthography of the period, together with the general ignorance of Hebrew, has led to the popular adoption of the more poetical designation of "star," instead of "drop," of the sea. Modern writers, although they very generally explain this allusion to *the sea*, as if *Maria* was derived from the Latin *Mare*, by a further confusion, leave *stella* unexplained. See Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. i. p. 205. There can be little doubt, therefore, that St. Jerome, when he interprets *Miriam*, "*Stella maris*" (see the passage quoted above, p. 126), wrote and meant *stilla*, "a drop of the sea," and that *stella* is a mistake of his transcribers or editors. Nevertheless, this error has prevailed, and is adopted in many ecclesiastical hymns in use at the present day; e. g. in the celebrated one—"Ave maris stella, Dei Mater alma," which is still retained in the Roman Breviary. And so also in the Hymn beginning—"Salve Mater Salvatoris" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. ii. p. 83) we have the lines—

"O Maria, stella maris, Dignitate singularis,
Super omnes ordinis, Ordines celestium."

And the same interpretation is given to the name by almost all mediæval writers, of whom it may suffice to quote St. Bernard (in Homil. ii. super *Misus est*, n. 17)—"Loquamur pauca" (he says) "super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum *Maris stella* dicitur, et Matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur," &c.—*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, iii. p. 742.

Nevertheless, the word *stilla* was known to these writers as signifying "a drop," which is evident from the Hymn beginning "O felicem genitricem" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 205), in which these lines occur:—

"O mamilla cujus stilla fuit ejus pabulum,
Qui dat terræ fructum ferre, pascit omne sæculum."

It may be observed, that in the interpretations of proper names given in the ancient Irish Gospels called the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, *Maria* is explained *stilla* (not *stella*) *maris*. We have, likewise, "*Maria stilla maris*," *Book of Armagh*, fol. 32, aa. See also line 14 of the following Hymn, where we read, "Tunc magi *stellam* secuti," showing that the scribe of the Book of Hymns did not confound *stilla* and *stella*.

VII. THE HYMN OF ST. HILARY IN PRAISE OF CHRIST.

THIS Hymn was first published by George Cassander, who says that he found it in an ancient volume which contained the rule of St. Benedict, and several Hymns¹. He notes it "incerto auctore."

It occurs also in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, and has been printed by Muratori² from that MS.

It has also been reprinted recently, from the text of Cassander, by Daniel, in his *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. i. p. 191.

In the Bangor Antiphonary this Hymn stands first, with the title "*Hymnum* S. Hilarii de Christo."

The Preface in the Book of Hymns, now for the first time published, expressly names St. Hilary of Poitiers, and the authority of these two ancient MSS. is sufficient to prove that the tradition of the Irish Church attributed the authorship of the Hymn to that prelate.

Bede⁴ quotes this Hymn in his Tract *De arte metrica* (cap. 23), and gives the first two lines as an example of the "Metrum Trochaicum tetrametrum;" he ascribes it to no author, but simply styles it "*Hymnus ille pulcherrimus*," as if it was then well known.

If the Hymn had been the composition of so celebrated a personage as

¹ "*Hymns*.—Repertum in vetustissimo libro Benedicti regulam cum hymnis continente, unde et plerosque alios desumpsimus."—*Hymni Ecclesiast.* (Opp., Paris, 1616 fol.) p. 186.

² *Muratori*.—See above, p. 7.

³ *Hymnum*.—Muratori, in his transcript of the Bangor MS., gives *Hymnum* throughout as a neuter nominative. This, no doubt, is a

mistake, arising from his not understanding the contraction "*Hymn3*," which is *Hymnus*. His want of familiarity with Irish MSS. has led him into several similar errors, and there is reason to think that he has altered the ancient original spelling of the MS. to bring it into conformity with the received orthography.

⁴ *Bede*.—See Additional Note at the end of this Hymn.

Hilary of Poitiers, it is not likely that Bede could have been ignorant of the fact, or, knowing it, that he would have omitted to name the author, inasmuch as he gives frequently the names of the authors of the hymns he quotes, such as Sedulius, Prudentius, St. Ambrose, Paulinus, &c., many of them obscure, when compared with St. Hilary of Poitiers.

It is to be observed, also, that the Hymn seems to contain allusions to a monastic society, and if so, cannot have been the composition of an author who lived before the institution of the cœnobitic life in the Western Church. For instance, the first line, "Hymnum dicat *turba fratrum*;" line 65, "Ante lucem *turba fratrum* concinemus gloriam;" and line 71, "Ante lucem decantantes."

It may be said that "*turba fratrum*" does not necessarily imply a society of "friars," in the modern sense of the word. For in the Hymn¹ "*Lauda Syon Salvatorem*," attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, we have the lines:—

"Quem in sacræ mensa cœnæ
Turbæ fratrum duodenæ
Datum non ambigitur."

where *Turbæ fratrum* evidently signify the twelve Apostles; but St. Thomas may have adopted the phraseology of a later age, wherein the Apostles were not unfrequently spoken of as a sort of monastic confraternity; and the passages of the present Hymn, above referred to, plainly speak of a *Turba fratrum* living together, and rising before the dawn, to sing together the praises of God, in evident allusion to a monastic society.

On the other hand, the fourth Council of Toledo² (A.D. 633) speaks of hymns at that time in use in the Church, "quos beati Doctores Hilarius et Ambrosius ediderunt;" so that there were hymns³ then attributed to, or

¹ *Hymn*.—Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnologic.*, vol. ii. p. 97.

² *Toledo*.—Can. 13 (Hardouin, Concil., tom. iii. 583 D).

³ *Hymns*.—It would seem that there was then a feeling in the Spanish Church not unlike that of the modern English Puritans; for the canon of the Council of Toledo here referred to is directed against some who objected to use in the Church service hymns

which were not to be found in the Scriptures, nor of apostolic tradition: "quos [hymnos] tamen quidem specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt." The Council answers, that the same objection would apply to the prayers, collects, and the whole liturgy of the Church, and therefore concludes, "excommunicatione plectendi qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi."—*ubi supra*.

known to be the composition of St. Hilary,¹ which are no longer known as such; and St. Jerome expressly mentions a *Liber Hymnorum*, by St. Hilary, as extant in his time². This, however, would only render it more probable that a hymn, whose author was unknown, should be attributed to an author who was known to have composed hymns, and whose name stood high in the Church. There is, therefore, in the fact that St. Hilary wrote hymns, nothing to weaken the force of the arguments above alluded to; especially when we observe that the style of the present Hymn is rude and unpolished, and in no way similar to that of St. Hilary's acknowledged writings³.

The Legend recorded in the Scholiast's Preface⁴ seems to connect the Hymn with Hilary of Arles, who flourished in the middle of the fifth century, rather than with Hilary of Poitiers. For in his time the monastic life had begun in the West, and he is said to have crossed the Alps on foot, in order to plead his cause before Pope Leo⁵.

Be this, however, as it may, it is not to be doubted that the present Hymn is a composition of great antiquity. Its doctrine is throughout in accordance with that of the primitive Church, and its language and diction are consistent with an early date. It may probably be assigned to the fifth or sixth century.

¹ *S. Hilary*.—Isidore, Bishop of Seville, tells us that St. Hilary, of Poitiers, was the first Christian author of hymns: "Sunt autem Divini Hymni, sunt et ingenio humano compositi. Hilarius, autem, Gallus, Episcopus Pictaviensis, eloquentia conspicuus, carmine floruit primus. Post quem Ambrosius Episcopus, vir magnæ gloriæ in Christo, et in ecclesia clarissimus doctor," &c.—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, l. c. 6, n. 2 (*Opp.* ed. Arevalo, tom. vi. p. 369. Romæ, 1802).

² *In his time*.—*De viris illustr.*, c. 100 (*Opp.*

tom. ii. ed. Vallarsii).

³ *Writings*.—This seems to have been Muratori's opinion, for in his preface to the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* he says: "At in Hymno nunc a nobis producto majorem fortasse elegantiam desiderabunt nonnulli, ut eum S. Hilario adscribant."—*Opere* (Arezzo, 1770), tom. xi. part 3, p. 222.

⁴ *Preface*.—See p. 162, *infra*.

⁵ *Pope Leo*.—See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xv. p. 72 (*Vie de S. Hilaire*, art. 15), and the authorities there quoted.



ŒMNUM DICAT. hilariur ƒpircopur 7 princep civitatis que dicitur Pictauir
fecit hunc Œmnum ChriŒto in monte Gargani, iar comale na ppainne illic
icegdaur ind lacraimb. Ocur iar na clugub buibe do Dia po chinŒat in meis
bŒchaib poŒe conarbat mo quam inŒanteŒ. amal taŒŒarŒem do ŒacurŒe boi occo.
Tamie aingel 7 apbeŒe ƒriu. niri penitenciam egerit 7 in inŒernum ibit 7
egerunt eŒgo penitenciam 7 debet Deur indulgenciam eir per iŒtam laudem.
Œic nobir convenit canere poŒe pŒanbium.

Aliter, locur .i. ƒpecur in pectore montis iouir inŒep Alper in qua philophi [sic] antea
fuerunt. Tempur, Valenciani 7 Valencir. PeŒŒona hilariur. CauŒa .i. Angelur
poŒtulavit quando uenit ad Surannam urbem cum epicŒit 7 uirur .i. .c. de
clericur, 7 .cc. de laicir. Unur uero de clericur moŒtuit eŒt pŒo ƒriŒore hieŒur,
7 hilariur opauit pŒo Œuo monacho. illa autem nocte angelur dixit ad eum,
debet te poŒucari poŒipŒur 7 Œmnum Œacere Deo. Ille autem fecit iuxta
imperium angeli, 7 moŒtuum ŒurŒitavit per Œraciam Dei.

Metrum troiachum tetrametrum eŒt. hic Œecipit pŒondeum omnibur locir, pŒaetep
terŒium locum, 7 trochia omnibur locir. in quo aliquando terŒio loco pŒiorur
uerŒiculi pŒondeum ŒepeŒier. ut Œactop celi 7 terŒiŒe Œactop. 7 uerŒur
purŒat leŒŒae moŒbum. CuŒŒit autem alŒerŒur uerŒibur ita ut pŒior uerŒur
habeat pedes .iiii. poŒterior uero .iii. 7 Œyllabam.

ŒmnuŒ ŒŒeca, laur inŒepŒetatur latine, uel ŒmnuŒ memoria dicitur, Œicut in
pŒalŒepio ŒŒeco ŒmnuŒ terŒmon. hoc eŒt memor Œuit noŒŒri. 7 ir do molab De
in tamŒiud ar dir ŒmnuŒ 7 ir poŒbinnur canair ut AgurŒannur dicit ir na deccadib.
ŒmnuŒ pŒimum David pŒoŒeca in laudem Dei compoŒuiŒe manifeŒtum
eŒt.

INNUM dicat turba fratrum Œmnum cantus personet
christo regi concinentes laudem demus debitam

Gloss.—1. *Hymnum.*—i. laudem. *Fratrum.*—i. in Christo. *Cantus.*—i. nominati-
vus. 2. *Concinentes.*—i. a verbo concino .i. a comchanam [we sing together]. *Demus.*—
i. laudes demus debitas.

1. *Ymnum dicat.*—For a trans-
lation of the Preface, see Addi-
tional Note, p. 162. The various readings
of the Antiphonarium Benchorense have
been marked B. in the following notes :

those of Cassander, C. *Fratrum.*—Fide-
lium, B., which does not suit the metre.
Bede reads *Fratrum.* See Addit. Note.

2. *Concinentes.*—Concinnentur, B., an
evident mistake. *Laudem.*—Laudes, B. C.

Tu dei de corde uerbum tu uia tu ueritas
iesse uirga tu uocaris te leonem legimus.

Dextra patris mons et agnus angularis tu lapis,
sponsus idem el columba flamma pastor ianua.

In prophetis inueniris nostro natus saeculo
ante saecula tu fuisti factor primi saeculi

Factor caeli et terrae factor congregator tu maris
omniumque tu creator quae pater nasci iubet

Uirginis receptus membris gabrielis nuntio
crescit albus prole sancta nos monemur credere

Rem nouam nec ante uisam uirgine puerpera
tunc magi stellam secuti primi adorant paruulum

Gloss.—3. *De corde*.—i. de secreto Divinitatis. *Verbum*.—i. filius. *Via*.—Ut dicitur Ego sum via et ueritas et uita; et iterum Nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me. 4. *Jesse*.—i. genitus. *Virga*.—Ut dicitur Exeat uirga de radice iesse. *Leonem*.—Ut dicitur Vicit leo de tribu iuda. 5. *Dextra*.—i. uita eterna. *Mons*.—Ut dicitur Erit in novissimis diebus preparatus mons. *Agnus*.—i. Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi. *Lapis*.—i. Lapidem quem reproba[uerunt] 6. *Sponsus*.—i. sicut sponsus procedens de thalamo suo *El*.—i. Deus. *Columba*.—Ut dicitur, Sponsa mea, columba mea. *Pastor*.—i. Ego sum pastor bonus, et iterum, Ego sum ianua per me si quis intraverit saluabitur. 7. *Nostro*.—i. in nouo testamento. *Saecula*.—i. ante omnia saecula. 8. *Frusti*.—i. per temetipsum qui es sine initio et sine fine. *Primi saeculi*.—i. mundi creatio in principio, secundum saeculum quando reformabitur in fine saeculi, aliter primum saeculum creatio Adae in principio mundi, secundum saeculum formatio hominis per Christum. 10. *Omniumque*.—i. elementorum; ut dicit Johannes Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. *Iubet*.—i. fiat lux et facta est lux. 11. *Gabrielis*.—i. aue Maria gratia plena, ecce concipies et paries filium et uocabis nomen eius Jesum. 12. *Albus*.—i. Marius. 13. *Puerpera*.—i. puerum prius parens, vel in aetate pueri parens Christum, .i. in x^o. vel in xii^o. anno. 14. *Magi*.—i. quasi magis gnari, qui philosophantur in omni re; ut est, Ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt Hier

The remainder of this line, the last six words of line 3, and the whole of line 4, are wanting in B., from a defect in the MS. *Debitam*.—Debitas, B. C.

5. *Dextra*.—In the margin is the following note :—"Dextra Dei dicitur quia sicut facit aliquis omnia quæ uult per dexteram, sic Deus Pater omnia fecit per Christum. Ideo Columba dicitur propter simplicitatem suam. Flamma, ut dicitur, Deus meus flamma devorans et ignis consumens."

6. *Idem el*.—Idem vel, B. C. But the reading "idem El" is undoubtedly correct. *El* is the Hebrew אל , *God*, as the Gloss explains it. (See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. i. n. 3.)

7. *Prophetis*.—Prophetis, B. C.

9. *Et terræ*.—Terræ, B. C.

11. *Gabrielis*.—Gabriele, C.

12. *Albus*.—Evidently meaning *Alvus*, as the Gloss proves. *Alvus* is the reading of B. C. The remainder of this, and the next four lines, are effaced in B.

OFFERENTES TUS ET AURUM Q̄IGNA REḠI MUNERA
MOX ERODII NUNTIATUM INUIDENS POTENTIAE 15

TUM IUBET PARUOS NECARI TURBAM FECIT MARTIRUM
PERTUR INFANS OCULENDUS NILI FLUMEN QUO FLUIT

QUI REPERTUR POST ERODEM NUTRIENDUS NAḠARETH
MULTA PARUUS MULTA ADULTUS SIGNA FECIT CELITUS 20

QUAE LATENT ET QUAE LEGUNTUR CORAM MULTIS TESTIBUS
PRAEDICANS CELESTE REḠNUM DICTA FACTIS APPROBAT

Gloss.—15. *Offerentes*.—i. an a chumbri na tuco mirram. no ni challa and in uenru [it was for brevity he did not introduce myrrh; or it would not fit in the verse], vel quia postea dicitur. 16. *Nuntiatum*.—i. opus nascendi. *Inuidens*.—i. Herodes. *Potentia*.—i. Christi. 17. *Iubet*.—i. Herodes. *Paruos*.—Cerc. cia lin na mac paibe pochep punb la hepoib [ni-handpa, Question; what is the number of the children here put to death by Herod? The answer is not difficult] duo milia .c. xl. ut Gregorius manifestat in sacramentario. 18. *Fertur*.—i. ducitur. Quatuor annis fuit Christus in Egipto fugiens Herodem. Eliopolis .i. solis civitas, nomen civitatis in qua Christus in Egipto habitavit. Eleos, sol, polis, civitas, interpretatur. Ubi ut aiunt in die adventus illius in urbem omnia idula ejus comminuta sunt. Affrodus vero nomen principis illius qui Christum et parentes ejus benigne suscepit. 19. *Refertur*.—i. beḡar [is related]. *Post Erodem*.—i. post mortem Herodia. 20. *Paruos*.—i. parvulus. *Adultus*.—i. an ḡo ḡoḡbaḡ [as he grew]. *Celitus*.—i. per virtutem celestem. 21. *Qua latent*.—i. in na hi naḡ peḡḡa [the things that are not known]. *Leguntur*.—i. na hi ḡo ḡeḡḡa [the things that are known]. *Testibus*.—i. apostolorum et discipulorum.

13. *Virgine puerpera*.—Virginem puerperam. C.

14. *Primi*.—In the upper margin of the page (p. 13 of the MS.) is a note on this word, which is in some places illegible. The following is all that can now be deciphered:—“ Primi .i. na ḡipḡoe [the shepherds]; vel Primi ex gentibus hi fuerunt, quia prius ante eos adoraverant eum pastores, ante xiii. iuxta turrim Gadder. Molcho eorum senior qui aurum Deo regi obtulit. Secundus Caspar iuvenis qui tus Deo obtulit. Tertius Pati[farsat qui] mirram homini obtulit. Unde quidam dixit:—

Melchar ciḡnachtaib inḡ oḡi;
Cappar tuco in tur dimoḡi;
Patiḡappat tuco in mir mach;
Conaḡḡapac doḡḡ ḡiḡlaich.

[Melchar was the presenter of the gold;
Caspar brought the costly frankincense;
Patiḡappat brought the goodly myrrh;
And they offered them to the royal Lord.]

Gregorius. Auro sapientia designatur. Ture autem quod Deo incenditur virtus orationis exprimitur. Per mirram carnis nostrae mortificatio figuratur. Nos itaque nato Domino offeramus aurum, ut hunc ubique regnare fateamur. Offeramus tus ut credamus quod is qui in tempore apparuit Deus ante tempora extitit. Offeramus mirram ut eum quem credimus in sua divinitate impassibilem, credamus etiam in nostra fuisse mortali carne.” This citation, with some unimportant variations, will be found in the treatise of St. Gregory the Great, *In Evang.*, Lib. I. Hom. x. (Ed. Bened., tom. I. 1470. C.) See a curi-

X

Debiles pacit uigere cecos luce illuminat
uerbis purgat leprae morbum mortuos resuscitat

Uinum quod deerat ibris motari aquam iubet
nuptiis mero retentis propinando poculo

25

Pane quino pisce bino quinque pascit milia
et peperit praegmenta cenae ter caternis coruibus

Gloss.—25. *Idris*.—i. an na uirca lepranab [in the water vessels]. *Motari*.—i. a sua natura in vinum. 26. *Retentis*.—i. hominibus. *Propinando*.—i. anbab pobailte in uair rin [what had been distributed at that time]. *Poculo*.—i. fit poculum culum lepran [a vessel]. 27. *Pascit*.—i. Christus. *Milia*.—i. virorum, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis.

ous Irish poem on the Three Magi, published by Dr. Reeves from the Gospels of Maelbrihte, *Proceedings, R. I. Academy*, vol. v. p. 47. The custom of offering gold, frankincense, and myrrh, on the altar, on the feast of Epiphany, is still kept up at the royal chapel of St. James's Palace. *Parvulum*.—In the left-hand margin is this note:—"Pulcherrime munerum sacramenta Iuuenus prespiter uno versiculo comprehendit:—

'Tus, aurum, mirram, regique, hominique, deoque,
Dona ferunt.'

See Iuueni *Historia Evangelica*, lib. i. *Biblioth. Patrum* (Lugd. 1667), tom. iv. p. 57. F.

15. *Tus*.—Thus, C.

16. *Erodii*.—Herodi, C.

17. *Tum*.—Cum, B. The Gloss gives 2140 as the number of the martyred Innocents, on the authority of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory. But nothing of the kind is to be found in that work, as we now have it.

18. *Oculendus*.—Occulendus, B. Occidendus, C.

19. *Erodem*.—Herodem, B. C.

20. *Celitus*.—Coelitus, B. C. *Multa parvus*.—Alluding, probably, to the miracles said to have been wrought by our Lord during His infancy. See Thilo, *Codex Apocr. N. T.* (Lips. 1832). I. A. Fabricii, *Codex Apocr. N. T.* (Hamburgi, 1703), especially the *Evangelium Infantiae*.

21. *Quæ latent*.—Alluding to St. John xxi. 25.

22. *Approbat*.—Adprobat, B. *Dicta factis*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dicta factis .i. vivificat mortuos, illuminat cecos."

23. *Facit*.—Fecit, B. C. *Cecos*.—Cæcos, B. *Illuminat*.—Inluminat, B.

24. *Morbum*.—Bede reads (*De arte metrica*, c. 23), "Verbis purgas lepræ morbos," where *purgas* is an evident mistake. *Mortuos resuscitat*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Tres tantum homines Christus suscitavit, .i. Lazarus, et filia Jari principis sinagoge, atque filius viduæ. Hi tres homines significant peccata hominum. Filia principis, suscitata in cubiculo, significat peccatum cordis. Filius viduæ,

TURBA ex omni discumbente iugem laudem pertulit
duodecim viros probavit per quos vita discitur

30

Ex quis unus invenitur christi iudas traditor
instruuntur misi ab anna proditoris osculo

INnocens captus tenetur nec repugnans ducitur
sistitur falsis grassatur offerendus pontio

Gloss.—19. *Discumbente*.—i. aní o miapaizeb mb ule buben [the thing from which the whole company was served]. Unde discus derivatur, i. miap [a dish]. *Pertulit*.—i. Christus. 30. *Viros*.—i. apostolos. *Probavit*.—i. elegit. *Vita*.—i. futura. 31. *Quis*.—i. apostolia. *Judas*.—i. ut Christus dixit Unus vestrum me traditurus est vel osculum pacis et amoris et mortis est, ut iudas dixit Quemcumque osculatus fuero ipse est. 32. *Instruuntur*.—i. ab iudeis et sacerdotibus. *Misi*.—i. latrones. 33. *Innocens*.—i. Christus. *Tenetur*.—i. anǵaibhcap [is seized]. 34. *Sistitur*.—i. ducitur. *Falsis*.—i. verbis vel conviciis. *Pontio*.—i. presidi regis mundi.

suscitatus in ostio civitatis, significat peccatum verbi prolatum foris. Lazarus, suscitatus de sepulcro, significat peccatum actionis cum m[orte].” This interpretation was common in the middle ages; and may be found for substance in St. Gregory, *Moral.*, Lib. iv. 52 (*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, tom. i. 125, C.)

25. *Idris*.—Hidriis, B. Hydriis, C. *Motari*.—Mutari, B. C. Under each word in this line is a very small letter, thus:—

unum quod deepar ibip
motari aquam iubet

and similar letters occur in the next line, and elsewhere in several parts of the MS. They are evidently intended to mark the grammatical order of the words, for the sake of persons not familiarly acquainted with Latin. Taking the words in the order of the letters as above, the line reads thus: “Jubet aquam mutari quod deerat vinum hydriis.” This was pro-

bably deemed the more necessary in this line, because the construction leaves it doubtful whether “vinum mutari aquam” means “wine to be changed into water,” or “water to be changed into wine.”

26. *Mero retentis*.—Mœrore tentis, C. An erroneous reading, which Daniel has inadvertently copied. *Propinnando*.—Propinato, C. *Poculo*.—Populo, B., probably a mistake of Muratori’s transcript. This is the only word which he could read of the line; and the next two lines were also illegible to him in the MS.

27. *Pane quino*.—In the margin is the following note: “No bich [or it is] binus et quinus secundum veteres. Nunc autem bini et quini, ut Priscianus dicit.”—See Priscian, *De Figuris numerorum*, c. vi. (*Opp. ed. Aug. Kriegl. Lips.* 1820, vol. ii. p. 398).

28. *Et fefert*.—C. gives this line thus: “Et refectis fragmenta cœnæ ter quaternis corbibus.” *Caternis corvibus* in the

DISCUTIT obiecta præses nullum cremen inuenit
sed cum turba iudeorum pro salute cesaris

35

DICERENT christum necandum turbis sanctus traditur
impiis uerbis grassatur sputa plaga sustinet

SCANDERE crucem iubetur innocens pro noxiis
morte carnis quam gerebat mortem uicit omnium

40

Tum deum clamore magno patrem pendens inuocat
mors secuta membra christi laxat stricta uincula

Gloss.—35. *Objecta*.—i. na tacpai donata pon Cniorc [the charges that were made against Christ]. *Inuenit*.—i. in Christo, ut dicitur Innocens ego sum a sa[nguine] iusti huius. 36. *Cesaris*.—Qn ba tocrao boribe nomen regis [for the name of king was an insult to him] regem esse dicebat. *Cesar* dictus a cesso [i. e. cæso] m[atris] utero. 37. *Turbis*.—i. iudeorum. *Traditur*.—i. Christus. 38. *Sputa*.—i. na paile [spittle]. *Flagra*.—i. na ppaigle [scourges]. 39. *Iubetur*.—i. a iudeis ut dicitur crucifigate crucifigate. *Noxiis*.—i. pro hominibus. 40. *Gerebat*.—i. portabat. *Omnium*.—i. hominum. 41. *Clamore*.—i. quando dixit Heli Heli et in manus tuas domine commendo. 42. *Stricta*.—i. nervi corporis Christi.

text is evidently an antiquated spelling of “quaternis corribus;” and *sefert* is an error of transcription for “*refert*.” *Corribus*.—Over this word is the following note: “Curvus, cpom [crooked, bent]; Corvus, piach [a raven]. Cophinus . . . quod est hic.”

30. *Duodecim*.—To be read as a trisyllable, which is remarked by the scholiast in the following marginal annotation: “Lege dodecim sine .u. in scandendo.”

31. *Quis*.—*Quis* [i. e. quibus], B. C., which would spoil the metre.

32. *Misi*.—*Missi*, B. C. On this word there is the following curious note in the margin: “Misi.—i. o Chaiphap ip eb po paibeopom [i. e. it was by Caiaphas he was sent], quia ille sacerdos fuit illius anni, sed causa metri dicit ab Anna, et in libris historiarum refertur quod .vii. fuissent principes inter Annam et Caifam,

sed filia Annas coniux fuit Caifas.” Conf. S. John, xviii. 13. It is probable that the *Libri Historiarum* here quoted are a general reference to the Histories of Josephus, which were known in the middle ages from the abridgment under the name of Hegesippus, and the Latin version ascribed to Ruffinus. It appears that there were exactly seven High Priests (inclusive) between the first priesthood of Annas and that of Caiaphas, in which our Lord was crucified. They are thus enumerated by Aug. Tornielli, *Annal. Sacr.*, tom. i. p. 384 (fol. Lucæ, 1757):—

70. Ananus, qui et Annas, socer Caiaphæ.

71. Ismael, Fabi f.

72. Eleazar, Anani f.

73. Simon, Camithi f.

74. Josephus, qui et Caiaphas.

75. Iterum Annas.

76. Iterum Caiaphas, sub quo Christus passus est.

The numbers signify that Annas was the

Uela templi scisa pandunt nox obscurat saeculum
excitantur de sepulcris dudum clausa corpora

Affuit ioseph beatus corpus mirra perlutum
lintheo rubi ligatum cum dolore condidit 45

Milites seruare corpus annas princeps praecepit
ut uideret si probaret christus quod sponderet

Angelum dei tremantes ueste amictum candida
quo candore claritatis uellus uicit sericum 50

Gloss.—43. *Vela*.—i. ut dicitur Ecce velum templi scisum est in duas partes. *Nox*.—i. tenebrae sanctas sunt super universam terram a sexta hora usque ad nonam horam. 44. *Excitantur*.—ut dicitur Multa corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt post resurrectionem suam, et apparuerunt multis in hierusalem. 45. *Affuit*.—i. venit dives ab arimathea nomine ioseph. 46. *Rubi*.—i. novo. *Condidit*.—i. sepelivit. 47. *Milites*.—i. romanorum. *Annas*. i. pro caifa hic iterum annas dicitur. 48. *Sponderet*.—i. tertia die resurgere, et dicit iterum Solvite templum hoc et in triduo resuscitabo illud. 50. *Sericum*.—i. Seres i. nomen gentis a quo et sericum vestimentum

70th from Aaron, inclusive; Ismael the 71st, &c.

34. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C., who suggests *gravatur* in the margin. *Offerendus*.—Offerentes, B.

35. *Discutit*.—This line and the next are omitted in B. *Cremen*.—Crimen, C.

36. *Cæsar*.—The Gloss, in a mixture of Irish and Latin, tells us that "the name of *King* was regarded as an insult by the Romans." Some words are illegible; but the meaning seems to be, that the name of "Cæsar" came to be substituted for "King."

37. *Necandum*.—Negandum, B. C.

38. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C.

39. *Crucem*.—In the left-hand margin there is the following note: "Quare noluit Dominus alia morte mori nisi morte crucis, quia crux magnum miste-

rium habet. Si enim crux in terra proicitur per .iiii. ejus partes, .iiii. partes mundi demonstrat. In hoc voluit Dominus demonstrare quod non venit unam partem mundi redimere sed totum humanum genus." A similar interpretation of the four points of the cross is given in the *Sermo de Symbolo*, published with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. vi. Append. 279 B.) Another note in the right-hand margin is as follows: "Quatuor ligna fuerunt in cruce Christi, cedrus a cor ṭ cupriṭ atenga ṭ ḡur in ḡeind bo patav tpeche ṭ beche in clap in po pcpibab in titul [cedar was its foot (or shaft), and cypress was its tongue, and deal was the piece that went across, and birch was the board on which the title was written]

42. *Membra Christi*.—These are the only words here legible in B.

Demouit saxum sepulcro surgens christus intiger
haec uidit iudea mentax haec negat cum uiderit

Feminae primum monentur saluatorem uiuere
quas saluat ipse mestas complet tristes gaudio

Seque a mortuis paterna suscitatum dextera
tertia die redisse nuntiat apostolis

55

Mox uidetur a beatīs quos probauit patribus
quod redisset ambigentes intret ianuis clausis

Dat docens praecepta legis dat diuinum spiritum
spiritum dei perfectum trinitatis uinculum

60

Gloss.—51. *Demouit*.—i. angelus remouit. *Intiger*.—i. corpore et anima. 52. *Haec uidit*.—i. mira opera resurrectionis. *Haec*.—Eadem opera. 53. *Feminae*.—i. Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi, et Josetis et Salomona monitae sunt circa resurrectionem Christi manifestam. 54. *Saluat*.—i. benedicit angelus vel christus. *Mestas*.—i. tristes mulieres. *Gaudio*.—i. resurrectionis christi. 55. *Paterna*.—i. virtute patris. 56. *Redisse*.—i. ad vitam. *Nuntiat*.—i. christus per mulieres. 57. *Probauit*.—i. elegit, vel bonis operibus, id est spe et fide et caritate. *Patribus*.—i. apostolis. 58. *Redisset*.—i. resurrexisset. *Ambigentes*.—i. dubitantes, i. Tomas et ceteri de resurrectione Christi. 59. *Docens*.—i. christus. *Dat*.—i. do pat nax in ppieta noeb popaib dia minchare [He sent the gift of the Holy Spirit upon them after Low Sunday] quamvis plenius dedit in pentecostem. 60. *Vinculum*.—i. na po choimnibe combad beba no cethapda. achb cneaba [that it may not be supposed that they are two or four, but three] semper eo quod patrem et filium coniungit, vel vinculum quod homines ad deum coniungit.

43. *Scisa*.—*Scissa*, B. C. *Pandunt*.—*Pendent*, B. C.

44. *Excitantur*.—*Excitantur*, B. C.

45. *Affuit*.—*Adfuit*, B. C. *Mirra*.—*Myrra*, B. C.

46. *Lintheo*.—*Linteo*, B. C.

47. *Praecipit*.—*Præcipit*, B. C.

48. *Quod*.—*Quæ*, C. *Spoponderet*.—*Spoponderat*, B. C.

50. *Vellus*.—In the margin there is the following note: “Vellus sericum .i. in enai pepicba [i. e. the silk-worm cocoon] .i. cenele etarg march pein [i. e. a kind of costly cloth] sunt apud ethiopiam et indos quidam in arboribus vermes, et pompices appellatur, qui araneae more

tenuissima fila neunt, et unde sericum vestimentum efficitur.”—See Isid. Hispal. *Etymol.*, lib. xix. c. 27.

51. *Demouit*.—*Demouet*, C. *Sepulcro*.—There is an erasure before the word *sepulcro*. Perhaps the scribe had originally written “e sepulcro;” but perceiving that the metre would not bear this addition, he erased the “e.” *Surgens*.—*Surgit*, C. *Intiger*.—*Integer*, B. C.

52. *Judea mentax*.—*Judaea mendax*, B. C. *Viderit*.—*Videret*, B. C. The next two lines are illegible in B.

54. *Mestas*.—*Moestas*, C. *Tristes*.—*Tristeis*, C.

56. *Redisse*.—*Rediise*, B. But the metre

Praecepit totum per orbem baptizari credulos
nomen patris inuocantes confitentes filium

Mistica fide reuelat tinctos sancto spiritu
fonte tinctos innouatos filios factos dei

Ante lucem turba fratrum concinnemus gloriam
qua docemur nos futuri sempiterna secula

65

Galli cantus galli plausus proximum sentit diem
nos cantantes et precantes quae futura credimus

Maiestatemque immensam concinemus iugiter
ante lucem nuntiemus christum regem saeculo

70

Gloss.—61. *Præcepit*.—i. Ite docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. 63. *Reuelat*.—i. innovat. *Tinctos*.—i. baptizatos. 64. *Fonte*.—i. baptismi. *Innouatos*.—i. gratia spiritus sancti. 65. *Lucem*.—i. diem. *Turba*.—i. vocata. *Fratrum*.—i. in christo. 66. *Docemur*.—Cumbach ȝnechiȝi bocheptaȝ pil hic [It is a verb in a passive form here] ut Priscianus dicit. *Futuri*.—Vel os [i. e. vel futuros]. *Sempiterna*.—i. apud deum. 67. *Galli cantus*.—Sicut canit gallus ante lucem sic decet nos cantare ante lucem matutini temporis, vel ante diem iudicii. 68. *Futura*.—i. praemia celestia. 69. *Majestatemque*.—i. Dei.

requires a trisyllable; so that *rediisse* must have been pronounced “redisse,” or “redyisse,” whether so written or not.

58. *Intrat*.—Intrat, B. C. Cassander puts a comma after *redisset*, instead of after *ambigentes*: the meaning is, “they doubted whether he would return.”

61. *Præcepit*—Precipit, B. C. *Baptizari*.—Baptizare, C.

63. *Mistica*.—Mystica, B. C.

65. *Ante lucem*.—Part of this line and the whole of the next are illegible in B. *Concinnemus*.—Concinimus, C. Muratori's transcript of B. gives “Concinit,” which is probably wrong.

67. *Galli cantus*.—In the margin is the following note: “Galli plausus, galli cantus. Gallus .i. Gall a candore. Gal-

lus .i. caillech [a cock] .i. a galea capitis dictus est. Job dicit Quis dedit gallo scientiam [Job, xxxviii. 36.]” In the upper margin there is a note which has no connexion with the text, except that the mention of the cock's crow appears to have suggested St. Peter. It is taken from the *Questiones ex Vet. et Novo Testamento*, printed with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. iii. Append.), but now acknowledged to be spurious. This note is as follows: “Tunc Salvator cum pro se et Petro dari iubet, pro omnibus solvisse videtur; quia vero omnes in Salvatore erant causa magisterii, ita et post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur. Ipsum enim post se reliquit pastorem. Denique dicit illi, Ecce Sata-

ANTE lucem decantantes christo regi domino
et qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo

GLORIA PATRI INGENITO GLORIA UNIGENITO
simul cum sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula

Gloss.—71. *Decantantes*.—i. laudem. 72. *Regnaturi*.—i. sunt. *Cum eo*.—i. cum christo. 73. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Unigenito*.—i. filio.

nas expostulavit ut vos ventilet velut triticum, ego autem rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua, et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. Manifestum est in Petro omnes contineri, rogans enim pro Petro pro omnibus rogasse cognoscitur. Semper enim in præposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur.”—*Quæst. ex N. Test.* lxxv. (*Opp. S. Aug.*, tom. iii., Append. p. 73, B.) St. Augustine, in one of his acknowledged writings (lib. iv. *ad Bonifacium*, c. 4) quotes a passage under the name of Hilary (but without saying what Hilary), which is found verbatim in these *Questiones*. This gave rise to the opinion that they were by Hilary of Poitiers, which is, however, not likely. Cave and others, who think Hilary, the Roman deacon, under Pope Damasus, to have been intended, are more probably right. On the whole, the decision of the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine seems well founded—viz., that the *Questiones* were compiled at different times, and from the works of various authors, and so may have included an extract from some writer named Hilary. The editors say: “Hic nos, ut de commentariorum auctore nihil pronuntiemus, juvat in subjectas *Quæstiones* observare, *MSSorum* codicum eam a nobis deprehensam esse varietatem, quæ efficere

possit, ut jam demum revocetur, atque invalescat opinio Erasmi et aliorum qui primum suspicabantur non unius hominis esse illud *Quæstionum* opus, in quo eadem quæ dicta sunt iterari, et propositis titulis rursum tractari eandem quæstionem; tum dissimile dicendi genus adhiberi; nec ipsa constanter eadem, sed plane contraria dogmata propugnari cernebant.”—*Ibid.*, p. 34. Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi. p. 415) is of the same opinion. He says: “Quelques uns ont cru que c’étoit l’ouvrage d’Hilaire, Diacre de l’Eglise Romaine, sous le Pontificat du Pape Damase. On y trouve en effet plusieurs opinions et plusieurs maximes exprimées dans les mêmes termes, que dans le Commentaire sur S. Paul, qui porte le nom de cet Auteur. Mais il a apparence que toutes ces questions ne sont pas d’une même personne,” &c.

68. *Cantantes*.—Canentes, B. Cante-mus, C.

69. *Concinemus*.—Concinemus, B. Concinimus, C. *Iugiter*.—Uniter, B. C.

71. *Decantantes*.—B. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem sæculo.” C. reads: “Ante lucem nunciemus Christum regem Domini.”

72. *Et*.—Om., B.

73. *Gloria*.—C. has only “Gloria, &c.”

Τε decet ἡμνῶν Θεῶν in Sion ἡ τῶν πεδδεται uotum in hierusalem.

Canticis ῥηρητισαῖς dilectati ἡμνῶν Χριστέ conponantes canimus τῶν quibus tua Domine maiestas porripit placari oblata Deo laudis hortia ῥηρητισαῖς περ τε Χριστέ ἱερῶν saluator.

Unitas in τριnitate τε deprecor Domine ut me pempet trahat totum tibi uotum uovere.

Te decet.—This antiphon (which is from Ps. lxiv. *Vulg.*) and the following collects are omitted in B. Over the word *Sion* is the gloss, "et non in thethralibus;" and over the word *Hierusalem*, "quia ibi habitas." The word *thethralibus* seems to be some corrupt reading or error of the scribe.

The antiphon and collects at the end of this Hymn are in the angular characters already noticed (see pp. 23, 80), but

in the handwriting of the original scribe. The last of these seems to admit of a metrical arrangement:—

“Unitas in Trinitate
Te deprecor Domine,
Ut me semper trahas totum,
Tibi votum uovere.”

In which lines, however, we must not look for any very strict observance of the rules of Prosody. *Vovere* seems to have the penultimate short.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Preface.

THE following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is in the usual rude mixture of Irish and Latin:—

HYMNUM DICAT. Hilary^a, bishop and prince^b of the city which is called Pictavis [Poitiers], made this hymn to Christ, in Mount Garganum, after eating his dinner there in the house of the robber. And after giving thanks to God, there came the sons of life^c afterwards, so that they were not larger than infants, as it seemed to a priest who was with them. An angel came and said to them, "Unless you do penance, you shall go to hell." Therefore they did penance, and God gave them pardon (*indulgentiam*), by means of this Hymn (*per istam laudem*). Thus it is our duty to sing after dinner (*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*).

Another account:—The place [where this Hymn was written] was a cave on the breast of the Mount of Jove^d, in the Alps, in which philosophers^e were before. The time was the reign of Valentinian [*sic*] and

^a *Hilary*.—A large proportion of this Preface is in rude Latin, mixed with sentences of Irish. The Editor has thought it advisable to translate the whole into English, adding some few explanatory notes.

^b *Prince*.—"Hilarius episcopus et princeps civitatis que dicitur Pictavis." St. Hilary was of a noble family of Poitiers, which is, perhaps, the reason why he is here called "princeps."

^c *The sons of life*.—That is Christians; see above p. 30, note ". The Editor has not been able to find any life of St. Hilary which mentions this strange legend. During the Arian persecution he was banished (A. D. 356), and took refuge in Phrygia. After his recall he visited Milan and other parts of

Italy; but we find no mention of his having been at Mount Garganum, in Apulia, a place which was not known in Church history for at least a century later, when it became sacred as the scene of a reputed apparition of St. Michael the Archangel (Baron. *ad an.* 492, *et Martyrol. Rom. ad 8 Martii. Actt. SS. Bolland.*, tom. viii. *Sept.*, p. 58). It is not easy to see the point of the story told above of the "sons of life" seeming not larger than infants to the priest who was with them (or *with him*, i. e. with Hilary, as it might be rendered). It does not at first sight appear to have much connexion with the duty of saying grace after dinner, which, nevertheless, seems to be intended as its moral, from the words "*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*."

Valens. The person [i. e. the author of the Hymn] was Hilarius. The cause [i. e. the occasion of writing the Hymn] was this: an angel demanded it (*postulavit*), when he came to the city Susanna⁴, with three hundred men, viz., one hundred clerics, and two hundred laymen. But one of the clerics died from the cold of the winter, and Hilary prayed for his monks; and that very night an angel said unto him, "It behoves thee to search the Scriptures, and compose a hymn to God." And he did as the angel commanded, and raised the dead by the grace of God.

The metre⁵ is trochaic tetrameter. It receives a spondee in all places (except in the third place), and

⁴ *Mount of Jove*.—This is also a place which was not celebrated in ecclesiastical history until long after the time of St. Hilary. It is now well known to all European tourists under the name of Mount St. Bernard, so called from the celebrated monastic *Hospice* founded there in the tenth century by St. Bernard of Menthon. Archdeacon of Aoust, who died A. D. 1008. Up to his time the site of the present Hospice was occupied by a pillar stone, and some say an image of Jupiter, with an eye of carbuncle, which cured diseases, and uttered oracles. This was overthrown by St. Bernard, who founded in its place the present monastery. See *Actt. SS. Bollandi*, ad 15 Junii. It is not improbable that the fame of this event may have influenced the Scholiast, who was probably a contemporary of St. Bernard of Menthon, in fixing upon the *Mons Jovis* as the scene of his legend. He gives the date of St. Hilary with tolerable correctness, when he says that the Hymn was composed in the reign of Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364-375). The year 368 is usually given as that of St. Hilary's death.

• *Philosophers*.—The original has "philophi," which seems a mistake for "philosophi."

⁵ *Susanna*.—This is some corruption: possibly *Soissons*. The Editor has not been able to find this story of the hundred clerics and two hundred laymen in any of the Lives of St. Hilary.

⁵ *His monk*.—In Irish writers the *monk* of a bishop signifies his attendant, or vassal. The word does not necessarily imply that the person so designated was a *monk*, properly so called. Mr. Curry has referred the Editor to the following passage in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys, p. 176, where Aedh Ollan, King of Ireland, is styled the "Gospel monk" of Congus, abbot or bishop of Armagh: Congus comarba Pádraig do n-ghní in parrho do

gnepaót Oeba Ollan a manaiḡ roircela im bfoḡail páraḡce a óille, "Congus, successor of Patrick, composed the following verse to induce Aedh Ollan, his Gospel monk, to avenge the violation of his church." This the Four Masters (at A. D. 732) understand as implying that Congus was the *anmchara* or spiritual adviser of Aedh, i. e. his Gospel master, so that Aedh would therefore be the spiritual *monk*, i. e. servant or disciple in Christ of Congus. The word occurs again, in the same sense, p. 200 of the same MS.; and so, in the Brehon Laws, *manach* [a monk] means a servant or slave, as *Manach-gobla*, a gallows' slave, i. e. a person redeemed by purchase or entreaty from the gallows, and who became servant or slave for life to the person by whom he was redeemed.

⁵ *The metre*.—This paragraph, as already remarked, is from Bede's tract, *De Arte metrica*, c. 23, with some slight variations. Bede's words are as follows:—"Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum, quod a poetis Græcis et Latinis frequentissime ponitur, recipit locis omnibus trocheum, spondeum omnibus præter tertium. Currit autem alternis versiculis, ita ut prior habeat pedes quatuor, posterior pedes tres et syllabam. Hujus exemplum totus hymnus ille pulcherrimus:—

- Hymnum dicat turba fratrum,
Hymnum cantus personet.
Christo regi concinentes,
Laudes demus debitas.

"In quo aliquando et tertio loco prioris versiculi spondeum reperies: ut

Factor coeli terræ factor,
Congregator tu maria.

"Et

Verbis purgas lepræ morbos."

a trochee in all places. In which thou mayest sometimes find a spondee in the third place of a prior¹ verse:

Factor coeli et terrae factor

and—

Verbis purgat leprae morbum.

Moreover, it runs in alternate verses, so that the prior verse has four feet, the posterior three, and a syllable.

Ymnus, in Greek, signifies *Laus* (praise) in Latin; or Ymnus means Memory², as in the Greek Psalter, *Ymnostestmon*, that is, He was mindful of us. And it is of the praise of God especially that a Hymn is lawful; and it is to music it is sung, as Augustin³ says, in the *Decades*¹. Hymnos primum David^m propheta [*sic*] in laudem Dei composuisse manifestum est.

¹ *Prior*.—This Hymn has been written in the MS. from which it is now printed, in *lines*, not in the *versiculi* of which Bede speaks. Each line consists of two *versiculi*, which Bede calls *prior* and *posterior*,—the *prior* consisting of four feet, the *posterior* of three and an half. The third foot of the *prior* versiculus may be a spondee, instead of a trochee, of which he gives two examples; but the third foot of the posterior versicle must always be a trochee.

² *Memory*.—There seems some strange confusion here between the words *hymnus* and *μνήμη*. The passage quoted from “the Greek Psalter” is apparently from Ps. cxiii. 20, *Sept.*, Κύριος μνησθεὶς ἡμῶν. The scribe having seen the last two words written, “mnestesemon,” or “mnistesimon,” transformed them into “ymnos testmon,” retaining the correct translation “*memor fuit nostri*.”

³ *Augustin*.—The sentiment here quoted from St. Augustin is that given in Irish which precedes, not the Latin words which follow, this reference; and

the passage intended is probably from the *Enarr. in Ps. lxxii. 1*. “Hymni laudes sunt Dei cum cantico; hymni cantus sunt continentes laudem Dei. Si sit laus, et non sit Dei, non est hymnus: si sit laus, et Dei laus, et non cantetur, non est hymnus.”—*Opp. tom. iv. (Ed. Bened.) p. 753*. A similar passage occurs, *Enarr. in Ps. cxlviii. 17; Ibid. p. 1682*; see also Isidorus Hispal., *Etymol. vi. c. 19, n. 17*.

¹ *The Decades*.—The Commentaries (or “*Enarrationes*”) of St. Augustin on the Psalms were anciently divided into fifteen *decades*. See Cassiodorus (*Prolog. in Psalm.*), quoted by the Benedictine editors (*Opp. S. Aug., tom. iv. Praefat.*) See also Isid. Hispal., *Epist. iii. Braulioni Archidiacono*, “Dum pariter essemus, postulavi te, ut mihi decadem sextam sancti Augustini transmitteres.”

² *David*.—“Psallere usum esse primum post Moysem David prophetam in magno mysterio prodit ecclesia.”—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis, i. c. 5, n. 1*. “Hymnos primum eundem David prophetam condidisse ac cecinisse manifestum est, deinde et alios prophetas.”—*Ibid., c. 6, n. 1*.

VIII. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC MURCHON, IN PRAISE OF
MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.

THE following Hymn, so far as the Editor knows, has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to the three sons of "Murchu of the Connacians," or of Connaught (see Addit. Note), the eldest of whom was Colman a bishop, and the other two were priests.

Two saints called Murchu occur in the Calendars of the Irish Church. One of these, whose day was the 8th of June, is mentioned in the *Feilire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, and in that of Marianus Gorman, but without any particulars to indicate his date or history. In the Martyrology of Tallaght, and in that of Donegal (as also in the gloss on Marianus Gorman), he is called "the son of Hua Mactein," which gives us but little information.

The other (June 12) is merely named in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Mar. Gorman; but his name does not occur in the *Feilire* of Aengus, so that he is probably of later date than the former. The Martyrology of Donegal has the following note on his name:—

Murchu.—*Atá Murchú do phlóc Conaill
Cremhtanne mic Neill Naon-ghallair, 7 atá
Cill Murchon i n cCorann, anáice Céire
Corann, a cConnaictaib; 7 feð an íro a
feil.*

Murchu.—There is a Murchu of the race
of Conall Cremhthainn, son of Niall of the
Nine Hostages. And there is a Cill Mur-
chon [or Church of Murchu, now *Kilmorgan*],
in Corann, near Ceis Corainn, in Connaught.
And see if this is his festival.

This proves that the eminent Irish scholar, Michael O'Clery, the compiler of the Martyrology of Donegal, was not able to say who the Murchu was whose festival was celebrated on the 12th of June. He suggests that there was a Murchu, a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages: and that there

was also a Murchu (who may, perhaps, have been the same), to whom a church was dedicated in the barony of Corran, near Ceis-Corainn (now Keshcorran, or Keshcorrin), a remarkable hill in the county of Sligo. The father of Colman and his brothers, the reputed authors of this Hymn, is said to have been do Chonachthaib, "of the Connaughtmen," and, therefore, may possibly have been the Murchu of Cill Murchon, situated¹ as just described. But this is uncertain; and, indeed, has little evidence to support it except the identity of the name.

The Four Masters, at A.D. 731, record the death of "Colman Mac Murchon (or son of Murchu), abbot of Maghbile," i.e. Movilla, the church founded by St. Finian², at the head of Strangford Lough, which was occasionally a bishop's see in the seventh century; but Dr. Reeves has remarked, that from the year 731 forward (the year at which the Four Masters place Colman's death) Movilla is noticed in the Annals as governed by abbots only.

The Four Masters do not call this Colman, who died 731, a bishop, but only abbot; it does not follow, however, that he was not a bishop; and it is most probable that he was the Colman Mac Murchon to whom the Scholiast has ascribed the authorship of the following Hymn.

The Editor has not found any other copy of it than that in the *Liber Hymnorum*, from which it is now printed. From the anecdotes preserved in the Scholiast's Preface, it is probable that the author and his brothers were of the number of the Irish ecclesiastics who, in the eighth and following centuries, devoted themselves to missionary labour, or monastic retirement, on the Continent of Europe; and this may account for the scanty notice of this Colman Mac Murchon which remains in the native records of his country; although the Scholiast tells us that he afterwards returned to Ireland with his brothers—"et postea ad Hiberniam venerunt"—where he appears to have died Abbot of Movilla.

¹ *Situated*.—It is about two miles E. by N. from Ballymote.—*Ord. Surv.*, sheet 33. See Colgan, *Actt. SS.*, p. 465, col. 1, N^o. 31.

² *S. Finian*.—See above, p. 98, and Reeves' *Eccles. Antiquit. of Down and Connor*, pp. 151, 152.



IN Trinitate pper mea. Tri meice Murchon do Chonnachtaib do nonpad in molabra do Michel. Colman a pnpet 7 eprcob ríbe 7 pacairt in diar aile. Caura .i. Dia nailichne do chotap co canic ambchine mop por muih Ichc. Co ndeochotap inn alaile mui, 7 co canic gortca mop doib. Conib dia poepab ap in gortca rein do nonpat in molabra. No ip do foepab mpe Ródam ap demnaib. An po bos apaile eprcop capmtechtach inri neme sein, 7 in Phranciaib ata, 7 portea ab hiberniam uenerunt. Inceptum est autem in quo tempore factur est. Tre níchim dan doponab 7 .xi. capteill deac ann, 7 da lín in cech caibbail, 7 re pillaba dez cechai. Ip po i níchim do pper in omine do bit ann.

TRINITATE spes mea fixa NON IN OMINE
et archangelum deprecor michaellem nomine

U^t sit obuius ac misus mihi deo doctore
hora exitus de uita ista atque corpore

N^e me ducat in amarum minister inergiae
ipse princeps tenebrarum atque pes superbiae

A^diutorium succurrat michaelis et archangeli
ad me hora qua gaudebunt iusti atque angeli.

Gloss.—1. *In Trinitate*.—i. trinitas .i. quasi trina unitas. *Fixa*.—Est vel erit. *In omine*.—Ideo dixit non in omine quia aliquis monachus audiuit vocem avis surg[entis super] pectus maris, et dixit bonum omen, et tunc Colman dixit In trinitate. Omen, .i. cel [an omen] ab ominor. *Non in omine*.—i. rcapam pnpit in cel ap a abetchi [I reject augury, because of its abomination]. 2. *Archangelum*.—Angeli .i. nuntii, archangeli, .i. summi nuntii, interpretantur. Hir. [Hieronymus]. *Michaellem*.—Qui praestitit Iudeis; vel qui sicut deus interpretatur, eoque in fine seculi aduersus eum qui se aduersus Deum erexit mitteudus. 3. *Doctore*.—i. de. 5. *Amarum*.—i. locum, vel in infernum. *Inergiae*.—i. iniquae operationis sed melius transfigurationis ut iesus dicit quod transfigurat se in angelum lucis. 6. *Ipsae princeps*.—i. diabolus ut apostolus dicit. 7. *Adiutorium*.—i. deprecor. *Succurrat*.—i. veniat cito. 8. *Iusti*.—i. animae sanctorum.

1. *In Trinitate*.—For a translation of the Preface, see Addit. Note. *Non in omine*.—The Gloss appears to allude to some legend of a bird which appeared on

the sea, which a monk exclaimed was a good omen—"Bonum omen:" whereupon Colman repeated the words, "My sure hope is in the Trinity, not in an omen."

Tuum rogo ne demittat mihi truces species
 INIMICI SED deducat ubi regni requies 10

Adjuvet me sanctus michel diebus ac noctibus
 ut me ponat in bonorum sanctorum consortibus.

Sanctus michel intercebat adiutor probabilis
 pro me quia sum peccator actu atque fragilis

Sanctus michel me defendat semper suis viribus 15
 anima egrediente cum sanctorum milibus.

GLOSS.—9. *Tuum*.—i. Michaellem. *Truces*.—i. grandai. 10. *Ubi*.—Est. *Requies*.—i. sive in celo sive in terra.

3. *Doctore*.—The second syllable is here made short. It is intended, no doubt, for *Ductore*.

5. *Inergia*.—For *energia*. Here used for diabolical influence. Persons possessed with devils were called *Energumeni*.—Comp. 2 Thes. ii. 9, 11.

6. *Pes Superbia*.—Ps. xxxv. 12, *Vulg.*

7. *Et archangeli*.—The metre, as well as the sense, of this line would be improved if *et* were omitted. *Adjutorium* seems to have been pronounced in four syllables, and *Michaelis* in three.

9. *Species*.—In the "Fragmentum Synodi Ibernensis" (Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, tom. iv. p. 1, sq. Villanueva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 169) this word is used to signify *the face*. "Sanguis Episcopi, vel excelsi principis, vel scribæ, qui ad terram effunditur, si collirio indiguerit, eum qui effuderit *sapientes* crucifigi judicant, vel vii. ancillas reddat. Si in specie [i. e. if the wound be in the face] tertiam partem de argento." And again, "Sanguis presbyteri qui ad terram effunditur donec col-

lyrium suffert, manus interfectoris abscindatur, vel dimidium vii. ancillarum reddat, si de industria: si autem non de industria, ancillæ pretio sanetur. Si ad terram non perveniat, percussor ancillam reddat; si in specie ejus, tertiam partem de argento retribuat." &c. If the word *species* be taken in the same sense here, the text may, perhaps, be thus translated: "I beseech him not to cast down upon me the horrible faces of the enemy, but to lead me where there is the rest of [God's] kingdom." The Gloss renders *truces* by *grandai*, or *grandæ*, i. e. great, large, from *grandus* for *grandis*.

11. *Adjuvet me*.—On the upper margin of the page (fol. 16 a) of the MS. there is a note, or extract, of no interest, from some medieval author. It has no reference whatsoever to the text, and is in some places illegible.

13. *Probabilis*.—Meaning *approved*, to be highly lauded, or *approved*.

16. *Anima egrediente*.—"May St. Michael, with myriads of the saints, conti-

SANCTUS gabriel sanctus raphael atque omnes angeli
intercedant pro me semper simul et archangelus

ETERNA possint prestare regis regni aulica
ut possideam cum christo paradisi gaudia

20

GLORIA sit semper deo patri atque filio
simul cum spiritu sancto in uno consilio.

Adjuvet nos archangelus sanctus michael dignissimus quem
recipere animas mittat deus altissimus.

Gloss.—17. *Gabriel*.—i. fortitudo Dei interpretatur. *Raphael*.—i. medicina Dei interpretatur, eo quod medicinavit tobiam de cecitate. 19. *Possint*.—i. angeli et archangeli. *Aulica*.—i. regia domus. *Archangelus*.—i. summus nuntius interpretatur. *Michel*.—i. qui sicut Deus interpretatur.

nually defend me by his power [especially]
when my soul is departing [from the
body]."

Adjuvet nos.—These lines are in a different character, but by the original scribe, like the similar lines after the other Hymns, of which we have already frequently spoken. Over the *a* in *mittat* a

small *i* is written, indicating a correction of the reading, from *mittat* to *mittit*. There is evidently a distich with a rude rhyme. The verses may be read thus :—

"Adjuvet nos archangelus,
Sanctus Michael dignissimus,
Quem recipere animas
Mittat Deus altissimus."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface of the Scholiast is for the most part in Irish, but, as in former instances, mixed with Latin words. The whole has been here translated, without distinguishing the phrases that are in Latin :—

In Trinitate spes mea. The three sons of Murchu of the Connacians made this Hymn to Michael. Colman^a, the eldest of them, was a bishop; the other two were priests. The Cause^b was this: they went on a pilgrimage, and a great tempest arose on the Iccian^c sea, and they came to a certain island, and a great hunger came on them, and it was to deliver them from this hunger they composed this Hymn. Or, it was to free the island of Rodan^d from Demons. For there had been a certain transgressing bishop in it before that; and it is in France. And afterwards they went to Ireland. It is uncertain, however, at what time this Hymn was composed. It is made in rhyme, and there are eleven^e chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter, and sixteen^f syllables in each line. It is on *i*: the rhyme is, on account of the *omine* being in it.

^a Colman.—See what has been already said of him in the introductory remarks, p. 165.

^b The Cause.—That is, the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

^c Iccian Sea.—i. e. the British Channel, *Irish Nennius*, p. 31, n. p. 272; *Genealogies of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 18, n.

^d Rodan.—The Editor has not been able to identify this island, unless it be the *Ile St. Roui*, off the coast of Brittany. There is a St. Rodincus, or St. Rouin, an Irishman, whose original name was probably Rodan. He founded the Abbey of Beaulieu in Argonne, and died A.D. 680, on the 17th Sept., at which day his name occurs in the Calendar of the Church of France. See Menard, l. ii., *Observatt. in Martyrol. Bened.*, and Mabillon,

Act. SS. Bened., where his life is given: Sec. iv. part ii., App., p. 543. *Venet.*, 1738.

^e Eleven.—The MS. has .xj. capptell bec, a mistake for .i. capptell bec, or .xj. capptell, “eleven chapters.”

^f Sixteen.—This is also a mistake, for the lines have only fifteen syllables. But line 7 seems to have seventeen syllables, or sixteen if we read *Michaelis* as a trisyllable. But in line 2 *Michaellem* is read in four syllables, and in lines 11, 13, and 15, where the name Michael is a dissyllable, it is written *Michel*.

^g It is on *i*.—i. e. the rhyme is on the vowel *i*, as *omine*, and *nomine*, ver. 1 and 2. Every line has *i* either in the last or penultimate syllable, except lines 3, 4, where the last syllable is *e*.

IX. THE HYMN OF ST. OENGUS MAC TIPRAITE IN PRAISE OF ST. MARTIN.

THIS Hymn has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to Oengus Mac Tipraite, priest, or abbot, of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha¹, a contemporary of St. Adamnan; and is said to have been written on the occasion of Adamnan's visitation of the Columban foundations in Ireland, A. D. 692 or 697. Oengus, however, lived to A. D. 745, at which year the Annals of Ulster record his death in these words: "Mors Oengusa filii Tipraiti abbatis Cluana Fota;" as also the Annals of Tighernach, in the words, *barr Oengusa meic Tipraite ab Cluana Fota baitain aba*, "Death of Aengus son of Tipraide, abbot of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha." The Four Masters alter the date given by the earlier annalists to 741. But all these authorities agree in styling Oengus *Abbot* of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha: they probably understood our Scholiast to have meant *abbot*, when he calls him *priest* of that monastery.

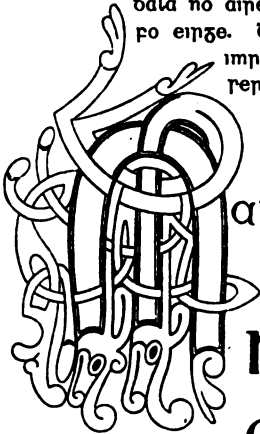
The Hymn is in extremely rude Latinity, and irregular metre, with rhyme or assonances at the end of the lines. Nothing is known of the author except what is recorded in the Preface, and in the Annals above quoted. His name does not occur in the Calendars or Martyrologies of the ancient Church of Ireland.

¹ *Cluain Fota Baitain-abha*.—This name signifies "the long lawn or meadow of Baitan of the river," now Clonfad, barony of Farbill, county of Westmeath. *Baitan of the river* may have been the founder of the monastery, or else, perhaps, a chieftain who was the original owner of the soil; but no other notice of him appears to have been

preserved. One of the earliest bishops of Clonfad was Etchein, who ordained St. Columba.—See the Legend, *Obits of Christ Church*, Introd., p. liv., and comp. Reeves' *Adamnan. Vit. S. Columba*, App. to Pref., p. lxxii. He died A. D. 577 or 578. Four Masters in anno; Colgan, *Act. SS.*, 11th of Feb.; Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 125.



MARTINE. Oengur macc tippaite pacapc cluana pota baccan aba ipe do ponai hunc
 cmmum. i cluain pota pacetur ert. Caupa autem adamnan boi for cuairc cell
 colum cille in hepenm co roacht co uirneach mibe co po ganeb do cech fir gnaib
 forr a naba luib iwin eip; co ruacht in ternaora oengur in aibche fele martain.
 et timuit ualde ut fecit hunc cmmum in honorem martini dia roerab. uenit epa
 oengur do chum [na] dala arhabarach i a immun eplam leir. i capar do
 adamnan martan for a laim deir Oengura i atpacht epa adamnan neme, et
 honorificauit eum cum opculo et omner mirabantur caupam honoir et dixit
 Adamnan ut uidit martinum pecum, conib ar martan do bich immaile fir do
 pat honop do. po roerab epa amlaib rein oengur. et ortendit cmmum ruum et
 laudauit adamnan cmmum et dixit gnuir aipmiciu for in ei gebar icbul do chum
 dala no aipechta ocur comab dicitu ar cech hgalap. ocur nem ara gabail po lige
 po eirge. Tre nithim dan do ponab, re caibbill ann i da line cech caibbill.
 impepra dan ann et non aequalem numerum syllabarum singulae liniae
 repuant.



MARTINE te deprecor pro me rogariis patrem
 christum ac spiritum sanctum habentem mariam
 matrem

MARTINUS MIRUS MORE ORE LAUDAUIT DEUM
 PURO CORDE CANTAUIT ATQUE AMAUIT EUM

ELECTUS DEI UIUI SIGNA SIBI SALUTIS
 DONAUIT DEUS PACIS MAGNE ATQUE UIRTUTIS

Uerbum dei locutus secutus IN MANDATIS
 UIRTUTIBUS IMPLETIS MORTUIS RESUSCITATIS

Gloss.—3. *More*.—i. caritatis atque religionis. 7. *Locutus*.—est. *Secutus*.—i. Deum. 8. *Impletis*.—amen.

1. *Martine*.—For a translation of the Preface see Addit. Note.

2. *Habentem*.—This seems heterodox, or at least very badly expressed, and

rude; for *habentem* agrees grammatically with *Spiritus Sanctum*, although, of course, intended to agree with *Christum*.

8. *Impletis*.—The Gloss "Amen" on

SANANS HOMINES LEpra cura duplice mira
MAGNITUDE mala EGRETUDINE DIRA

10

Deum DOMINUM NOSTRUM passum PRO NOBIS mire
VOLUNTARIE PROPTER NOS DEPRECARE MARTINE

MARTINE.

Sanctur martīnur adhuc catacomīnur hac me uer̃te contexit
dicīt dominur omnipotenr̃.

Per merita martīni sancti atque dignīssimī nor̃ p̃recamur ut
mereamur p̃egnum dei uiuī altīssimī. Amen.

Gloss.—9. *Duplice*.—i. anima et corpore. 10. *Magnitudine*.—i. peccati. *Egretudine*.—i. corporis.

Catacominus.—i. adiutor fidei interpretatur.

this word is in a more recent hand, and is written under, not over, the word. *Mortuis resuscitatis*.—Sulp. Severi *De Vit. B. Martini*, c. 5, 6 (*Bibl. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 H., 351 A. Lugd. 1677).

9. *Lepra*.—*Ibid.*, c. 19 (*ubi sup.*, 353 A.) *Cura duplice*.—With a twofold cure, of mind as well as body: converting them to the faith, as well as healing them of bodily disease. *Cura* is here used in the sense of *curatio morbi*.

12. *Martine*.—The Hymn ends here, as we infer from the repetition of the last word, *Martine*, which is also the first word of the Hymn. It is one of the artifices of Irish poetry to make a poem begin and end with the same word (see above, p. 23). What follows is in a different character, although by the original scribe (see above, pages 23, 80, 161).

Catacominus.—i. e. *Catechumenus*, a Catechumen. In the Gloss this word is ex-

plained *adiutor fidei*, which is, perhaps, a mistake for "auditor fidei."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. c. 14. The allusion is to the following legend, told by Sulpitius Severus in his Life of St. Martin:—During his military career, St. Martin found one day at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man, naked, and shivering with the intense cold of a more than usually severe winter. None of the by-passers took any notice of the wretched suppliant's appeals to their charity; but St. Martin, moved by compassion, took off his own cloak (*chlamydem*), and drawing his sword, divided it into two equal parts, one of which he gave to the poor man. At this time St. Martin was only a Catechumen, and had not as yet been baptized, although he was eighteen years of age. He entered the city amid the jeers of many, who ridiculed his appearance in his cloak cut short; but that same

night he saw in a dream Christ Himself, clothed in that very half of the cloak which had been given to the poor man, and being called upon to recognise the garment, he heard Jesus say to the surrounding angels, "Martin, although only a Catechumen, hath covered Me with this robe"—"Nocte igitur insecutâ, cum se sopori dedisset, vidit Christum clamydis suæ, quâ texerat pauperem parte vestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum, vestemque quam dederat jubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem, audit JESUM clara voce dicentem : *Martinus, adhuc Catechumenus, hac Me veste contexit. Vere memor Dominus dictorum suorum* (qui ante prædixe-

rat : *Quamdiu fecistis hæc uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecistis*), se in paupere professus est fuisse vestitum," &c. Upon this, St. Martin was immediately baptized, but continued almost two years longer in the army, to complete the term of his military service.—Sulp. Severi, *De Vita S. Martini*, c. 2 (*Biblioth. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 A.) *Lib. Armac.* in Vit. S. Martini, fol. 192, where the form *Catacominus*, for *Catechumenus*, occurs.

Per merita.—There is here a rhyme or jingle :—

"Per merita Martini
Sancti atque dignissimi
Nos precamur
Ut mereamur
Regnum Dei vivi altissimi."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface, or Argument, details a curious legend, which is quite consistent with the date already assigned to the author of this Hymn. It is in the usual mixture of Latin and Irish, and may be translated as follows:—

Martine. Oengus Mac Tipraite^a, priest of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha, was the person who composed this Hymn. It was composed in Cluain Fota. The Cause^b was this: Adamnan was making his visitation^c of the churches of Colum-cille in Erin, when he arrived at Uisneach of Meath; and every man of grade^d, against whom there was any accusation in that country, was summoned to him; and the proclamation reached Oengus on the eve of the festival of Martin; and he feared greatly^e, so that he made this Hymn in honour of Martin, to deliver himself. Then Oengus came to the assembly on the morrow^f, and his Hymn ready with him; and Martin appeared to Adamnan on the right hand of Oengus, and Adamnan rose up before him [i. e. before Oengus], and did him honour with a kiss, and all wondered at the cause of the honour; and Adamnan said when he saw Martin with him, [i. e. with Oengus], that it was because Martin was with him that he gave him this honour. Thus did Oengus deliver himself; and he showed his Hymn, and Adamnan praised the Hymn, and said, An honourable aspect^g shall be upon every one that

^a *Oengus Mac Tipraite*.—See what has been said of him, p. 171, *supra*.

^b *The Cause*.—That is, the cause or occasion on which it was composed.

^c *His Visitation*.—This fixes the date to A. D. 692 or 697.—See Reeves' *Adamn.*, p. xlix. *Uisneach* is in the parish of Conry, diocese of Meath, a little south of which, in the parish of Ardmurher, is *Suidé Odamnam* (now *Syonan*), "*sessio Adamnani*," which was probably the spot where the visitation or synod alluded to in the text was held.—Reeves' *Adamnan.*, *App. to Pref.*, p. lxxv.

^d *Of grade*.—That is, every man who was in holy orders.

^e *He feared greatly*.—Are we to infer from this that Oengus was one of those against whom some accusation had been brought? If so, his fears may have arisen from the apprehension that justice was not always to be expected from the ecclesiastical tribunals of that period.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, lib. iii. c. 3, p. 192, and note ^a.

^f *On the morrow*.—The Irish word is *annabapach*, which would be now written a *mánpach*; a curious instance of the interchange of *b* and *m*.

^g *An honourable aspect*.—That is, his very outward appearance shall be such as to command respect from all who see him.

sings it in going to an assembly, or court^b, and it shall be a protection against every disease, and against poison, to him who sings it lying down and rising up.

It is composed in rhyme; there are six chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter; it is in assonancesⁱ; and the lines do not each preserve the same number^j of syllables.

^b *An assembly or court.*—*Dala* no *aípecht*. *Dala* (the same word used above, where it is said that Oengus went to the assembly, at which he was to receive the judgment of Adamnan) is a general term for any meeting; *aípecht* is properly a court or diet of princes, or officials, for making laws, or hearing civil causes; from *aípead*, a chieftain, or noble.

ⁱ *In assonances.*—*Recpa*, repetition of the same sound at the end of each line.

^j *The same number.*—The lines have generally

fourteen syllables. Verse 2 has sixteen syllables, but may be reduced to fourteen, if we elide the final syllable of *Christum* before *ac*, and pronounce *Mariam* as a dissyllable, *Marjam*. Verses 8 and 12 have fifteen syllables; in verse 8, *mortuis* is pronounced as a dissyllable; and in verse 12, *voluntarie* is pronounced *voluntarje*, four syllables only. But in verse 4, the final syllable of *atque* is not elided before *amavit*. *Martinus* is apparently pronounced *Martínus*, with the penultimate short; and there are several other irregularities.

X. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

IT may be convenient to give here a translation of the Scholiast's Preface¹, or Introduction, to this well-known Hymn :—

" *Gloria in excelsis.* The angels of God sang the first verse of this Hymn on the night of the Lord's Nativity. They made it at the Tower of Gabder,² a mile from Jerusalem eastward. To make known that He who was then born was the Son of God they made it. In the time of Octavin Augustus it was composed. But Ambrose made this Hymn, from the second verse to the end of the Hymn."

From the notice of this Hymn in the fourth Council of Toledo (A. D. 633), it would seem that the author or authors of it were then unknown: the Council (can. 13), speaking of those who at that time objected to the use of all hymns of human composition, say: "Respuant ergo et illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmodicimus, *Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in secula seculorum, Amen.* Nam et ille hymnus quem nato in carne Christo Angeli cecinerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*; et reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur ecclesiastici Doctores composuerunt." As Hilary and Ambrose had been mentioned just before as the authors of hymns (see above, p. 149), it is not likely that the Council would have spoken thus, if either of those Fathers had been then reputed the author of this Hymn.

It is most commonly attributed to St. Hilary³, of Poitiers, and is entitled, "Hymnus S. Hilarii ad Missam" in the *Cod. Vatic.* 5729 (an ancient MS. of

¹ *Preface.*—Another version of this Preface will be found in Addit. Note A at the end of this Hymn.

² *The Tower of Gabder.*—See Additional Note B.

³ *To St. Hilary.*—Some have made Pope Telesphorus (A. D. 150) the author (as Rhabanus, Amalarius, Walafridus Strabo, &c.), misunderstanding, as it would seem, the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*, where Telesphorus is

the Hieronymian Bible). But as this Hymn was in use as a morning hymn (προσευχὴ ἑωθινή) in the Greek Church⁴, and is found in a Greek dress in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. vii. c. 47), Cardinal Thomasius⁵ suggests, with great probability, that St. Hilary was only the translator, and that he had been instrumental in bringing it into use in the Western Church: "Forte hic primus hymnum hunc Latinum fecit, primusque ex Oriente in Occidentem inexit."

The Editor has found no authority except that of the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, now before us, for attributing this Hymn to St. Ambrose. The reasons already given for supposing it more ancient than St. Hilary are of equal force against the opinion that St. Ambrose was the author⁶.

said to have appointed this Hymn, or rather, perhaps, only the first verse of it, to be sung on the night of Christmas: "Ut Hymnus Angelicus in nocte Nativitatis Domini diceretur." It is remarkable that in the Liturgy of St. James only the words of the angels, and not the remainder of the Hymn, are to be found. —J. A. Fabricii, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, pt. iii. tom. ii. p. 64; and so also in the *Ordo Missæ* for Christmas Day, in the *Missale Gothicum*, published by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, pt. iii. p. 192. But Alcuin, Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugo de St. Victore, and many others, maintain that Hilary was the author.

⁴ *Greek Church*.—See Ussher, *De Symbolis* (Works by Elrington, vol. vii. p. 335). It is called in the Greek Church ἡ μεγάλη δοξολογία, "the great Doxology" (Goar. *Rituale Græcor.*, p. 54–58). In the Codex Alexandrinus (Edit. Baber, vol. iii. 569) this Hymn is entitled θμνος ἑωθινός; and in the Vatican MS., 5729, "Hymnus Angelorum" (Card. Thomasii, *Psalter. Opp.* ed. A. F. Vezzosi, Rom., 1748, tom. iii. p. 616). See also Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, vol. ii., Dissert. ii. p. 28, voc. ἑωθινός, Oxon., fol. 1473.

⁵ *Thomasius*.—*Psalter., Opp., loc. cit.*; and so Alcuin speaks of the *Gloria in excelsis* as having been "auctus et consummatus" by St. Hilary. Quoted by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallic.*, p. 29.

⁶ *The author*.—Mention is made of this Hymn in the Treatise *De Virginitate*, published among the works of St. Athanasius (tom. ii., Ed. Bened.); and if that tract were genuine, this would be a strong argument against the opinion that the Hymn was of Latin origin, or that it had either St. Hilary or St. Ambrose for its author. For the Tract *De Virginitate* speaks of the Hymn as used in the morning, or near morning (πρὸς ὄρθρον), by an established custom; which it could scarcely have been in the time of Athanasius, if Hilary or Ambrose had been the author. However, although Bellarmine, Nat. Alexander, and other learned men, have upheld the genuineness of the treatise *De Virginitate*, there is now scarcely any one who does not acquiesce in the judgment of the Benedictine editors, that it cannot be an authentic work of St. Athanasius.—See Oudin., *De Scripturis*, tom. i. p. 340.



GLORIA IN excelsis. Angeli dei cecinerunt primum uerbum huius cmmi in nocte dominicae natiuitatis. Ic sup gabber imorpo do ponpat .i. mile o hierusalem paip. do failirigub imorpo connoib mace de in ei po genair ann do ponpat he. In amfir octauin augurci do ponab. Ambrosiur autem pecit hunc cmmum a pecundo uerpu urque ad finem cmmi.



GLORIA IN excelsis deo et in terra pax
hominibus bonae uoluntatis

Laudamus te benedicimus te adoramus te
glorificamus te magnificamus te

Dignitatis agimus tibi propter magnam misericor-
diam tuam
domine rex celestis deus pater omnipotens

Domine fili unigenite iesu christe
sancte spiritus dei et omnes dicimus amen

Gloss.—1. *In excelsis.*—i. in cellis. *In terra.*—i. in ecclesia sancta. 2. *Bonae uoluntatis.*—i. eis qui nullant [uolunt] deum offendere sed placere cogitatione et uerbo et opere. 3. *Laudamus.*—i. [in uita] hac nostra vel in teorica uita. *Benedicimus.*—i. actuali uita. *Adoramus.*—i. subiectione corporis et animae, .i. totis uiribus. 4. *Glorificamus.*—i. coram Deo Patre. *Magnificamus.*—i. coram hominibus bono opere.

1. *Gloria.*—For a translation of the Preface, see above, p. 177.

4. *Magnificamus te.*—Omitted in the text of this Hymn as now used.

5.—*Misericordiam.*—An ancient hand has written in the margin *Gloriam*.

6.—*Domine rex.*—"Domine Deus rex" is the reading now.

7.—*Domine fili.*—The present text is

"Domine Fili unigenite Iesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Iesu Christe, cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen."

Domine fili dei patris agne dei qui tollis peccata mundi
miserere nobis. 10

Suscipe orationem nostram qui sebes ad dexteram patris
miserere nobis domine.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus tu solus dominus tu solus
gloriosus cum spiritu sancto in gloria dei patris amen

In omni tempore benedicimus te et laudamus 15
nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum seculi amen

Dignare domine nocte ista
sine peccato nos custodire

Benedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum et laudabile
et gloriosum nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum se-
culi amen. 20

Domine deus salutis meae
in die clamaui et nocte coram te

Gloss.—13. *Tu solus.*—i. per temetipsum. 15. *In omni tempore.*—i. in prosperis et in adversis.
16. *Nomen.*—i. filium tuum. 17. *Nocte.*—i. hujus seculi. 18. *Peccato.*—i. sine mortali crimine.
19. *Patrum.*—i. patriarcharum et apostolorum. 20. *In seculum.*—i. hic et in futuro. 22. *In die.*—
i. in prosperis. *Nocte.*—i. in tenebris seculi hujus.

15. *In omni tempore.*—What follows is an addition, of the nature of an antiphon, like the similar additions at the end of the foregoing Hymns; but in this case it is written in the same characters as the text. The verse *In omni tempore* is added to this Hymn in the copy of it printed by Cardinal Thomasius from the Ambrosian Breviary (Psalter. *Opp.*, ubi *supr.*, p. 613), but with the variation, “per singulos dies [instead of “in omni tempore”] benedicimus te,” which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, Ps. cxliv. 2.

17. *Dignare.*—This verse is found also

in the Ambrosian copy of this Hymn (Thomas, *loc. cit.*), and is also usually incorporated in the *Te Deum*, but with the reading *die isto*, instead of *nocte ista*, as above. This peculiarity of the Irish copy seems to show that in the ancient Church of Ireland the Hymn was used at night; a fact which is expressly stated to have been the case, in another copy of the preface, which will be given in Note A, from the *Leabhar Breac*.

18. *Sine peccato.*—Sine peccatis. Thomas, *loc. cit.*

19. *Benedictus.*—Dan. iii. 26, *Vulg.*

INTER ORATIO MEA IN CONSPPECTU TUO
INCLINA AUREM TUAM AD PRECEM MEAM DOMINE

SCUTO CIRCUMDABIT TE VERITAS EIUS
NON TIMEBIS A TIMORE NOCTURNO

25

Gloss.—24. *Precem.*—i. quia in hoc corpore possitus fundo 25. *Scuto.*—i. licet in errore fuimus quando nox est, non timebis quia habes scutum veritatis. 26. *Timebis.*—i. a tenebrosa satione inimicorum.

21. *Domine Deus.*—This and the next of *invasion, attack*, unless we suppose a clause are from Ps. lxxxvii. 2, 3, *Vulg.* mistake of transcription for “tenebrosa

25. *Scuto.*—This clause is from Ps. xc. *invasione.*” The verb *Saisire* was used by Ivo Carnotensis in the eleventh century,

4, 5, *Vulg.* which was, probably, about our scholiast’s time.—See Du Cange.
26. *Timebis.*—The gloss over this word seems to use *sasio* for *saisio*, in the sense

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

A TRANSLATION of the Scholiast's Preface has already been given (p. 177, *supra*). There is, however, another copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49 b, in *marg. inf.*) a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. This has been probably taken from another copy of the Book of Hymns, and is worth preserving here:—

Glória in excelsis Deo. Angel do non-
pat in ferr corpech don imanno, oibce na
zeime. hio cor aber imanno do nonpat .i.
mile o hierusalem rair. Dia foillruigub
contb mac De mch nogenair and do nonpat
he. In amfir hoccaim imanno do ponab
he. Ambrosiur bin do poime in cuilleb .i.
a pecundo uerpu urque in finem laubir,
7c.

Ambrosiur rui erpuce ire do poime hunc
imnum do molab Iesu. ocup in oibche ar
bir a cantain. Tria nuchim bin do ponab.
uii. capit inb, ocup .uii. line in cech capit
ocup .uii. pillaebe cecha line.

Gloria in excelsis Deo. The angels made the
first verse of this Hymn, on the night of the Nati-
vity: and in the tower of Ader they made it, which
is a mile from Jerusalem, eastwards. To make
known that He who was then born was the Son of
God they made it. And in the time of Octavin
they made it. But Ambrosius made the remain-
der, from the second verse to the end of the hymn,
etc.

Ambrose the learned bishop, it was he who made
this Hymn in praise of Jesus; and at night it is
right to sing it. And it is made in rhythm.
There are seven chapters in it, and seven lines in
each chapter, and seven syllables in each line.

It will be observed, that in this version of the Preface St. Ambrose is stated to have been the author of the Hymn; and it is also expressly said that it was the usage to sing it at night, which accounts for the alteration *nocte isto* instead of *die isto*, already noticed, p. 180, note. The concluding paragraph, which tells us that the Hymn is in rhythm, consisting of seven chapters, with seven lines in each chapter, and seven syllables in each line, is an evident mistake.

NOTE B.

The Tower Gabder, or Gadder.

MENTION of the Tower *Gadder** has already been made, as the scene of the angelical vision, which appeared to the shepherds on the night of our Lord's Nativity.

This Tower is stated in the Scholium, or Preface to the present Hymn, to have been a mile from Jerusalem; but St. Jerome and Ven. Bede speak of it as a mile from Bethlehem, which accords better with the Gospel narrative. The latter says (*Comment. in Luc. ii. 8*): "Meminit et Micha propheta loci hujus et temporis, dicens, '*Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion usque ad te venient, et veniet potestas prima, regnum filia Sion.*' Turris quippe gregis, quæ Hebraice *Ader* vocatur, mille circiter passibus a civitate Bethlehem ad orientem distat, vaticinio sui nominis pastores hos multo ante demonstrans ad quam usque filia Sion, angelicæ videlicet potestates, pastoribus apparendo, venerunt."

St. Jerome, on Gen. xxxv. 21, says: "*Et profectus est Israel, et extendit tabernaculum suum trans turrin Ader.* Hunc locum Hebræi esse volunt ubi postea templum ædificatum est; *et turrin Ader, turrin gregis* significare, hoc est, *congregationis et ætus*; quod et Michæas propheta testatur, dicens, *Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion*, &c.: illoque tempore Jacob trans locum, ubi postea templum ædificatum est, habuisse tentoria. Sed si sequamur ordinem viæ" [i. e. the order of Jacob's journey] "*pastorum juxta Bethlehem locus est, ubi vel angelorum grex in ortu Domini cecinit; vel Jacob pecora sua pavit, loco nomen imponens: vel quod verius est, quodam vaticinio futurum jam tunc mysterium monstrabatur.*" Here it will be seen that St. Jerome decides rightly that the Tower *Ader*, in Genesis, must, from the tenor of the narrative, have been near Bethlehem, and that the *turris gregis nebulosa*, mentioned in Micah (iv. 8), which the tradition of the Jews supposed to have been the site of the temple, was a different tower, near or in Jerusalem. *Quæst. in Genes.* (*Opp.*, tom. iii., Edit. Vallarsii, Venet., 1767, col. 361, B. C.). In another place, describing the travels or pilgrimage of St. Paula, St. Jerome says: "Haud procul inde" [scil. a Bethlehem] "descendit" [Paula] "ad turrin *Ader*, id est gregis; juxta quam Jacob pavit greges suos, et pastores nocte vigilantes audire meruerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*," etc. *Epitaph. Paulæ, Epist. cviii. ad Eustochium* (*Opp.*, ubi *supr.*, tom. i. col. 699 D.)

* *Gadder*.—In a marginal note on the Hymn attributed to St. Hilary in praise of Christ (No. vii. *supra*), the angels are said to have first worshipped

Christ "juxta turrin *Gadder*."—See p. 153 (note on line 14). *Gadder* is an erroneous form of the name.

The tradition of the Hebrews, alluded to by St. Jerome, is probably the same as that preserved in the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. xxxv. 21, whose words are:—

ויסע ונמל יעקב ופרס למשכניה מן להלא למגדלא דעדר אתרא דמתמן עתיד דאתגלי מלכא משיחא בסוף יומיא :	, "And Jacob journeyed, and arose, and spread his tents beyond the tower of Eder, the place where the King Messiah shall reveal Himself, in the end of days."
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Here it is evident that the *Migdal Eder*, or Tower of Eder, near Bethlehem, is alluded to; for Bethlehem was known to the Jews, even before our Lord's Nativity, as the predicted birthplace of Messiah (Matt. ii. 4-6). But "the place where Messiah shall reveal Himself" was probably taken to signify the Temple, by the Jews who communicated or interpreted this tradition to S. Jerome.

The name מגדל-עדר, Tower of Eder (Gen. xxxv. 21, Mic. iv. 8), signifies *turris gregis*, as it is rendered in the Vulgate Version, and this may, perhaps, have given occasion to the tradition that the place so called near Bethlehem (a watch-tower probably for shepherds) was the place from which the shepherds (Luke ii.) saw the vision of angels, that announced the Nativity. Still it cannot be doubted, from the testimony of St. Jerome, and the words of the Targumist above quoted, that some ancient traditions of the Jews were connected with the place.

But there were certainly two places so called, one near Bethlehem, which, as we have seen, is that mentioned Gen. xxxv. 21; the other in or near Jerusalem, which is evidently the place intended, Mic. iv. 8^b.

It appears, from the passage above quoted, that Bede had a different reading of this latter text from that of the present Vulgate Version: "Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filiæ Sion usque ad te veniet" [instead of "Et tu turris gregis nebulosa filiæ Sion, ad te veniet"], which he interprets, "And as for thee, O dark tower of the flock, the daughters of Sion" [i. e. the angels who appeared to the shepherds] "shall come to thee." Whereas, the Vulgate is, "And thou, O dark tower of the flock of the daughter of Zion, it" [i. e. the kingdom] "shall come to thee." The English version, following the Masoretic punctuation, which separates עפל (rendered *nebulosa* by the *Vulg.*) from מגדל-עדר, the tower of Eder, is as follows:—"And thou, O tower of the flock" [*Margin*, "O tower of Eder"], "the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion."

But the accentuation followed by the Septuagint and Vulgate seems more probable, except that we ought, perhaps, to take מגדל-עדר-עפל, *Migdal-Edar-Ophel*, as a proper name, signifying, "the tower of Eder Ophel;" the epithet *Ophel* (*Caliginosa*, *Vulg.*, αἰχμηδης, LXX., or, as it may be also rendered, "of the hill"),

^b See Lightfoot, Chorographical Decad., sect. 4, 5 (Works by Pitman, vol. x. p. 221, sq.)

having been, perhaps, added to distinguish it from the Tower of Edar near Bethlehem; so that the meaning will then be: "And thou, O Tower of Edar, of the hill, of the daughter of Zion" [i. e. of Jerusalem], "unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion."

That there was a place, and apparently a fortification, on, or near to, the walls of Jerusalem, which was called *Ophel*, is evident from 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 (where the Hebrew is, "on the wall of *the Ophel*," בְּחוֹמַת הָעֶפְלָי). Comp. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, Neh. iii. 27, and xi. 21, where in every case the Masoretic punctuation understands the article, even when it is not expressed in the letters. And so Josephus, *De Bello Jud.*, lib. vi. c. 6, § 3, speaks of this place, τὸν Ὀφλᾶν καλούμενον ὑψηλόν; so that it seems to have retained its name down to the latest period of Jewish history.—See Reland. *Palæst.*, p. 855, who infers that Ophel was not a hill, from its not having been so called by Josephus. On the other hand, one of the most recent authorities on the geography of the Holy Land interprets the word "a swelling mound," from עָפַל, *to swell*. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, App., § 26, p. 490.

It should be observed, in conclusion, that the Septuagint translators, in Gen. xxxv., transpose the mention of Migdal Edar, and make Jacob to have encamped there before, not after, he came to the place where Rachel died: they have, in fact (if the present text be correct) inserted ver. 21 after the word *Bethel* in ver. 16; and they render it ἔπηξε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ πύργου Γαδέρ.

It was, probably, from the Septuagint, or from some Ante-Hieronymian Latin version founded on the Septuagint, that our Scholiast copied his spelling of the name *Turris Gadder* (p. 153, note); for "the Tower of *Gabder*," in the Preface to the present Hymn, is evidently a corruption of *Gadder*. But in the Preface, as given in the *Leabhar Breac* (see Note A, p. 182, *supra*) it is called "the tower *Ador*," as in the modern Latin Vulgate.

XI. THE MAGNIFICAT, OR HYMN OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

THERE is no need of any prefatory remarks to introduce to the reader the following well-known Hymn, which is taken from St. Luke, i. 46-55, and has formed a part of the service of the Church for at least a thousand years.

The following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is, as usual, in a mixture of Latin and Irish :—

Magnificat. Mary, the Mother of the Lord, made this Hymn; and it was in the time of Octavianus Augustus she made it; for in the forty-second year of his empire Christ was born; and it was in a certain mountain city of the mountains¹ of the tribe of Judah in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and this was the peculiar city of Zacharias. There John Baptist was born; and it was to that city that Mary came to visit Elizabeth, when she heard that she was pregnant, i. e. in the sixth month². And it was there that speech was restored to Zacharias, and that he composed the *Benedictus*; and it was then that she composed the *Magnificat*. And this was the cause³, viz., Mary came to visit Elizabeth the wife of Zacharias, because she heard that she was pregnant after a very long barrenness; for all her relations were visiting her. Therefore Mary entering the door of her house, Elizabeth said, whilst the babe moved in her womb, Behold the mother of my Lord hath come to me. And for this reason they say that John prophesied before he was born; and then Mary said, *Magnificat*; and at that time Mary conceived her Son.

There is a copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49, b, in marg. *inf.*), but it is so nearly identical with that here given, that it has not been thought worth while to transcribe it. The variations are little more than differences of spelling, or the use of Irish for Latin, and *vice versa*.

¹ *Of the mountains.*—See St. Luke, i. 39.

² *Sixth month.*—St. Luke, i. 36.

³ *The cause.*—i. e. the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.



MAGNIFICAT. Maria mater domini fecit hunc cōmnum. In tempore uero octauiani augurci fecit. in .xl. mo enim secundo anno imperii eius christus natus est. ocur ip in apale cathraiz phabba hi tpeib iuda hi pail hierusalem, ocur ip i pede cathip diler zachari. ibi iohannes baptista natus est, 7 ip don cathraizreim tanc mairie do pīr elizabech in tan atchuala a bich alaōta .i. ipm t-pepē mīr. Ocur ip mci do natader labra do zachari 7 ip mce do pone zachari benedicetur, 7 ip mce do ponad Magnificat. IS E imorpo in pōchund .i. mairie tanc do pīr elizabech petche zachari, ap ic chuala a bich corrach porē longirrimam ptepilitatem. Omner enim cognati eius uirēbant. Intran epgo maria hortium domus puae elizabech dixit cum inuocatione impetui in utero suo, En mater domini uenit ad me 7 ob id dicunt iohannem propheta antequam natus erret. 7 tunc maria dixit magnificat, 7 in hoc tempore filium suum maria concepit.



MAGNIFICAT anima mea dominum
et exultauit spiritus meus in deo salu-
tari meo

Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae
ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent
omnes generationes

Gloss.—1. *Anima*.—Ejus anima dominum magnificat qui omnes interioris hominis affectus diuinis laudibus ac seruitiis mancipat. 2. *Salutari*.—i. ut dicit psalmista Anima mea exultabit Deo et dilectabitur super salutari suo. 3. *Humilitatem*.—i. uirginitatem.

1. *Magnificat*.—A translation of the Preface has already been given, p. 186.

3. *Humilitatem*.—Under and over this line, in the form of a gloss, is the following note from Bede: “.i. Cujus humilitas respicitur recte ab omnibus beata cognominanda gratulatur, sicut e contrario superbia dispecta condemnatur Evæ. Ita sicut

intravit mors in mundum per superbiam Evæ, per humilitatem Mariæ vitæ panditur introitus humano generi.” It is remarkable that the erroneous interpretation of the name of Eve, which occurs in this passage, as now printed by the editors of Bede, is here omitted. The words following “condemnatur Evæ” in the printed

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est
et sanctum nomen eius 5

et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies
timentibus eum

Fecit potentiam in brachio suo
dispexit superbos mente cordis sui 10

deposuit potentes de sede
et exaltauit humiles

esurientes impleuit bonis
et diuites demisit inanes

Suscepit israel puerum suum
memorare misericordiæ suæ 15

GLOSS.—7. *Progenies*.—i. in omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iusticiam. 9. *Potentiam*.—i. quia omnia per filium Dei patris facta sunt, ideo eum brachium domini dicitur [*sic*]. 10. *Superbos*.—i. filios diabuli quia initium est omnis peccati superbia. 11. *Potentes*.—i. confidentes in uirtute sua. *De sede*.—i. superbiam. 12. *Humiles*.—i. qui dicunt cum apostolo omnia possumus in Christo. 13.—*Esurientes*.—i. satiabuntur perfecti quia eterna bona esuriunt. *Bonis*.—i. celestibus. 14. *Diuites*.—i. qui de terrenis diuitiis superbiunt inanes totius beatitudinis demittentur a domino in die iudicii. 15. *Suscepit*.—i. Deus.

editions are, "id est vœ, sive calamitatis nomine mulcata tabescit." But the reading of our MS. is, probably, correct, and these words are the addition of some ignorant transcriber, not of Bede.—*Comment. in Luc. i.* (*Opp.* ed. Giles, x. p. 295).

6. *Sanctum nomen*.—Over this line is the following note from Bede: "Sanctum nomen ejus vocatur quia singularis culmine potentiæ transcendit omnem creaturam." The printed editions of Bede read *potenti*, but "potentiæ" is certainly better. The Gloss as given above on lines 7 and 8 is also from Bede.

7. *In progenies*.—"A progenie in progenies" (*Vulg.*); but "in progenies et pro-

genies," was the reading of Bede.

10. *Superbos*.—In the margin there is this note: "Commemorat hic beata Maria quomodo per omne labentis seculi tempus Creator justus ac misericors et superbis resistere et humilibus dare gratiam consuevit." This is, no doubt, from some ancient author. *Dispexit*.—*Dispersit*.—*Vulg.*

15. *Suscepit*.—In the margin is the following note from Bede: "Bene autem Domini et Johannis exortum matres profetando præueniunt, ut sicut peccatum a mulieribus coepit, ita etiam bona a mulieribus incipiant, et quæ per unius deceptionem periit, duabus certatim præconan-

Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros
abraham et semini eius usque in seculum

Que maria plena gratia dominus tecum, benedicta tu inter
mulieres ⁊ benedictus fructus ventris tui. Spiritus sanctus
perueniet in te ⁊ uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi

Gloss.—17. *Ad patres*.—i. ad patriarchas. 18. *Semini*.—i. non carnale sed spiritale semen significat .i. filiis promissionis in Christo.

tibus mundo vita reddatur.”—*Comm. in Luc.* i. 55.

16. *Memorare*.—Recordatus, *Vulg.* Bede reads *Memorari*, and the Ante-Hieron. version (ap. Sabatier) has *memorid*.

18. *Semini*.—The gloss on this word is

from Bede. *Usque*.—Omitted in *Vulg.*, and in the Ante-Hieron. version edited by Sabatier from the MS. Colbert.

Ave Maria.—This is in the more angular character, already frequently spoken of, but by the original scribe.

XII. THE BENEDICTUS, OR HYMN OF ZACHARIAS.

THIS celebrated Hymn is taken from St. Luke i. 67-79; but the text differs both from the Ante-Hieronymian version and the modern Vulgate. Some of the more remarkable variations are given in the Notes. The Scholiast's Preface is in Latin, without any admixture of Irish. It may be thus translated :—

Benedictus Dominus. Zacharias, the father of John Baptist, made this Hymn (*hanc laudem*) to the Lord. And he made it in the time of Octavianus Augustus. The cause was this: Zacharias once on a time entered the temple to sacrifice for the people, after the manner of a priest, because he was born of the seed of Aaron, and of the course¹ of Abia in particular. It was the lot of his week; for from the time of David the priests were divided into twenty-four different courses², and each one exercised his ministry from Sabbath to Sabbath. For from the time of Aaron to David one succeeded the other³. Zacharias⁴ then, entering the temple, to make an offering for himself and for the people, looking to the right, saw the angel Gabriel sitting at the horn of the altar, who said to him, Fear not, for I have come not to bring thee fear, but joy. For Elizabeth shall bring forth unto thee a son, and he shall be called John, and he shall be great before God and men. And Zacharias said, How shall this be, seeing we have passed the time for having children? The angel answered, If a man were to promise thee this, thou mightest doubt his word; but I am an angel of God, and I stand in His presence, and I bring unto thee His words; and thou oughtest not to doubt what I have said; and, therefore, from this day until the boy is born, thou shalt not speak. And so it was, until that which was promised had been fulfilled. For Elizabeth conceived and bare a son, and the kinsmen inquired of his mother concerning the name of the boy, and his mother answered, He shall be called John; but others, contradicting, said that he should be called after the name of his father. But Elizabeth bade them ask his father to write the name of his son. Zacharias, therefore, being so called upon, spoke and said⁵, The boy shall be called John: and immediately he praised the Lord, saying, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.*

¹ *Course.*—"De vicce [i. e. de vice] Abia." Luc. i. 5.

² *Courses.*—"Intercognitiones." The Vulg. uses the word *vices*. 1 Paral. xxiv. 19.

³ *The other.*—"Unus post unum tenebat."

⁴ *Zacharias.*—In the original "Stacharias."

—See p. 78, note on line 31, *supra*.

⁵ *Spoke and said.*—This varies from the Gospel narrative. It is curious that in the Book of Armagh the scribe had originally written *dixit*, but erased that word, and substituted "*scripsit dicens*."



benedictus dominus. Zachariar pater iohannis baptista fecit hanc laudem domino. In tempore uero octauiani augurati fecit. Causa autem aliquando zachariar in templum ut immolaret populo morie sacerdotali intrauit. quia de femine aaron et de uice abia specialiter natus est. post eius septimanas fuit. A tempore enim dauid sacerdotium in xxiiii interco gnationes diuersarum diuisum est. et a rabbatu usque ad rabbatum unusquisque ministerio suo utebatur. A tempore enim aaron usque ad dauid unus post unum tenebat. Intrans ergo zachariar in templum ut pro se et populo offerret accipiens in dexteram angelum gabrielem redentem in cornu altaris uidit et dicentem tibi Noli timere quia non ab timorem tibi aspernandum sed ab gaudio ueni. Elizabeth enim pariet tibi filium et uocabitur iohannes et magnus erit coram deo et hominibus. et zachariar dixit quomodo scies hoc quoniam praetermiseris nos tempus parienti. Angelus respondit, Si homo tibi hoc promitteret deber uerba eius dubitare, ego uero angelus dei sum, et confitendo in praesentia eius, et uerba eius tibi posito, et non deber dubitare quae dixi. et ob id ab hac die usque puer natus non loquitur. et ita factum est, donec impletum est quod promissum est. Concepit enim elizabeth et peperit filium, et cognati de nomine pueri matrem eius interrogabant, et respondit mater eius iohannes uocetur. alii uero contradicentes dicebant nomine patris uocetur. Elizabeth autem dixit ut rogaret patrem ut scriberet nomen filii sui. Zachariar uero ita rogatur locutus est et dixit, uocetur puer iohannes. et continuo laudauit dominum dicendo benedictus dominus deus israel.



BENEDICTUS dominus deus israel

quia uisitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis
suae

Et erexit cornu salutis nobis
in domu dauid pueri sui

Gloss.—2. *Visitauit.*—i. plebem hanc visitando suam esse fecit; quia sua fidei sublimitate eam perfecit. 3. *Cornu.*—i. cornu salutis, firmam celsitudinem salutis dicit, cornu excedit carnem, et ideo cornu salutis regnum saluatoris christi vocatur.

1. *Benedictus.*—For a translation of the Preface, see last page. The Gloss agrees with that given in the printed works

Commentary on St. Luke, cap. i., although the text of the Hymn does not agree with that given in the printed works

Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum
prophetarum suorum qui ab ævo sunt

5

Ut liberauit nos ab inimicis nostris
et de manu omnium qui nos oderunt

Quod faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris
et memorare testamenti sui sancti

10

Iurandum quod iurauit ad abraham
patrem nostrum daturum se nobis

Ut sine timore de manibus inimicorum nostrorum
liberati seruiamus illi

In sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso
omnibus diebus nostris

15

Et tu puer propheta altissimi uocaberis
praeibis enim ante faciem domini parare uias eius

Gloss.—6. *Prophetarum*.—Profetæ specialiter appellati sunt, qui de aduentu Christi manifeste sunt locuti. *Ab ævo*.—i. ab initio. 7. *Liberavit*.—i. filius Dei. 8. *De manu*.—i. de potestate. *Omnium*.—i. inimicorum. *Qui nos oderunt*.—i. homines perversos et immundos spiritus significat. De manu quorum et interim spe salvi facti sumus et in futuro reipsa salvandi. 10. *Testamenti*.—i. disposuit Deus testamentum nos esse liberaturum de semine patriarcharum. 11. *Ad Abraham*.—i. fides gentium et sacrosanctus ecclesiæ cultus est promissus Abraham, Domino ad eum dicente, In te benedicentur omnes gentes terræ. Dixit Dominus ad David, Cum impleveris dies tuos, ut vadas ad patres tuos, suscitabo semen tuum, et ego ero ei in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium, ipse edificabit mihi domum. 15. *In sanctitate*.—i. ostendit hic profeta quomodo Domino serviendum est, in sanctitate videlicet et iustitia. 17. *Altissimi*.—i. audiant mansueti quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes profetando præibit altissimum vocat. 18. *Præibis*.—i. in vitam et mortem. *Parare*.—i. ut dixit parate viam Domini rectas facite semitas Domini nostri. *Vias eius*.—i. Christi.

of that writer. It seems unnecessary to occupy space by pointing out these variations, or the abridgments and omissions in Bede's Commentary, necessary to reduce it to an interlinear gloss: any reader who has access to Bede can make this comparison for himself.

6. *Ab ævo*.—"Qui a seculo sunt prophetarum ejus."—*Vulg.*

7. *Et liberavit*.—This is the reading of the Ante-Hieronymian version, instead of "salutem ex inimicis nostris," as in the modern Vulgate.—See Sabatier, *in loc.*

10. *Memorare*.—For "memorari." Here our MS. has the reading of the modern Vulg. The old version was "et memoratus est."

13. *De manibus*.—"De manu."—*Vulg.*

ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi eius
in remissionem peccatorum eorum

20

per viscera misericordiae dei nostri
in quibus uisitauit nos oriens ex alto

illuminare his qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sedent
ad dirigendos pedes nostros in uia pacis

Puer autem crepescbat et confortabatur in spirititu et
erat in desertis locis usque ad diem ostensionis suae ad
Ippael.

Glossa.—19. *Scientiam*.—i. futuram. 22. *Oriens*.—i. Ecce vir, inquit profeta, oriens nomen eius, qui ideo recte oriens vocatur, qui nobis ortum ueræ lucis aperiens, filios noctis et tenebrarum lucis effecit filios. 23. *Illuminare his*.—i. his qui in peccatis et ignorantiae cecitate vixerunt, agnitionis amorisque sui radios infundere. 24. *Pedes nostros*.—Pedes nostri in viam pacis diriguntur cum actionum nostrarum iter per omnia redemptoris nostri gratiæ concordat.

Puer autem.—i. predicator penitentiae futurus, optimum est ut solitudinis aspera sequatur.

17. *Altissimi*.—In the gloss on this word the allusion to the Arians in Bede is omitted. Bede's words are: "Audiant sane Arriani, et erubescant; audiant mansueti, et lætentur, quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes prophetando præibat, Altissimum vocat." The allusion is to Ps. xxxiii. 3, *Vulg.*

22. *Oriens*.—The Gloss refers to Zech. vi. 12; and is taken from Bede on Luc. i. 78.

23. *Sedent*.—Here our MS. follows the

modern Vulg. The old version was, "qui in tenebris sunt, et in umbra mortis sedentibus."

24. *In via*.—In viam. *Vulg.*

Puer autem.—This verse, which is from St. Luke, i. 80, is in the smaller character. It differs from the modern Vulg. in reading "in spiritu" for *spiritu*; and "desertis locis" for *desertis*: but agrees with it in reading "ostensionis" instead of "progressionis," as in the older version. See Sabatier, *in loc.*

XIII. TE DEUM LAUDANUS.

THIS celebrated Hymn has no Preface, like the other Hymns in this volume, if we except the short title, "Hæc est Laus Sanctæ Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus, et Ambrosius composuit."

This is an evident allusion to the legend, that the hymn was composed at the baptism of St. Augustine, one verse being uttered by him, and the next, alternately, by St. Ambrose, who baptized him. The earliest authority for this story is believed to be the Chronicle once attributed to Dacius, Bishop of Milan, A. D. 527, but now known to be of a much later date, inasmuch as it carries on the history to A.D. 1067 (*vid. Cave, Hist. Liter., sub Dacio*, tom. i. p. 511, Oxon. 1740). But from the allusion to it here, it appears that the story was more widely known at that period, and had found its way to Ireland.

Abbo of Fleuri¹ attributes the authorship of the *Te Deum* without hesitation to St. Hilary of Poitiers. He calls it "Dei palinodia, quam composuit Hilarius Pictaviensis episcopus," and suggests that the reading *suscepisti* (which must, therefore, have been ancient, and which, it will be observed, is the reading of our MS.) is erroneous; for he says it ought to be, "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem," &c. Accordingly, this has ever since been, or at least is now, the received reading, although it is very doubtful whether the old *suscepisti* was not better. See note on the passage, p. 197, line 23, *infra*.

Archbishop Ussher appears to have had in his possession a copy of the Irish Book of Hymns, in which the *Te Deum* was ascribed to one Nicetas²;

¹ *Abbo of Fleuri*.—Quoted by the Bened. editors of St. Hilary's works, *Pref.*, p. vii. n. 22. The passage occurs in the "Prologus in Abbonis libellum de Grammatica," written by Abbo in the form of a letter on the occasion of his mission to England, A. D. 985,

and addressed to the English monks of his order. It is published by Mabillon, *Annal.*, lib. xlix. n. 69, tom. iv. p. 29, and *Append.*, p. 687.

² *Nicetas*.—See above, p. 9; and Ussher's Works, by Elrington, vii. 300.

and he adds that, in a Gallican Psalter³, then in the Cotton Library, written about the time of Henry I. (A.D. 1100), it is attributed to St. Nicetius, who may, perhaps, be the Bishop of Treves (A.D. 541), or the Bishop of Lyons of the same name (A.D. 570), or some other, but probably the same to whom the Irish authority attributed it under the name of Nicetas.

An excellent summary of what has been written on the question of the authorship of this Hymn will be found in the notes of Meratus to the *Thesaur. Sacror. Rituum* of Barth. Gavantus, *Aug. Vind.*, 1763, fol., tom. ii. p. 162, sq. See also Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 279, sq.

In the Antiphony of Bangor the *Te Deum* is entitled, "Hymnus in die Dominico." The readings of this MS., as edited by Muratori, are marked B. in the following Notes.

³ *Psalter*.—"In Latino-Gallicoquoque psalterio, circa tempore Henrici I. exarato inscribitur iste hymnus Sancti Niceti (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentaneæ) sive Tre-

verensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius."—*Ibid.* This Psalter no longer exists in the remains of the Cotton Library in the British Museum.



hec est laus sanctae Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuit.



LAUDATE pueri dominum
laudate nomen domini

Te deum laudamus
te dominum confitemur

Te aeternum patrem
omnis terra ueneratur

5

Tibi omnes angeli
tibi caeli et uniuersae potestates

Tibi hiruphin et seraphim
incessabili uoce proclamant dicentes
sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth

10

pleni sunt caeli et uniuersa terra
honore gloriae tuae

Gloss.—3. *Laudamus*.—i. ore, vel opere. 4. *Confitemur*.—i. corde. 11. *Sanctus*.—i. sanctus ter dicitur, quia unus et trinus est deus. 12. *Uniuersa terra*.—i. ecclesia per quadratum orbem diffusa non desinit laudare et orare deum.

1. *Laudate*.—This verse prefixed to the *Te Deum* is from Ps. cxii. 1., *Vulg.* It occurs also in B.

7. *Hiruphin*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Sciendum est quod hiruphim et saraphim per .m. litteram prolata iuxta proprietatem linguae ebraeae masculini sunt et pluralis numeri tantum.

Si autem per .n. litteram dicantur graeca sunt et neutri generis, et pluralis numeri." In B. we have "Cherubim et Seraphim;" but Muratori has everywhere altered the orthography of the MS.

10. *Dicentes*.—*Om.* B. and *Vulg.* But it is found in the Vat. MS. 82, cited by Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 298.

Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus
te profetarum laudabilis numerus 15

Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus
te per orbem terrarum sancta conpitetur aeclesia

Patrem immensae maiestatis tuae
uenerandum tuum uerum et unigenitum filium

Sanctum quoque paracletum spiritum 20
tu rex gloriae christe

Tu patris sempiternus es filius
tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem

Non horruisti uirginis uterum 25
tu deuicto mortis aculeo
aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum

Gloss.—14. *Apostolorum*.—i. misorum. 15. *Profetarum*.—i. providentium. 16. *Martirum*.—i. fidelium.

12. *Universa terra*.—B. also reads *universa*; but the word is omitted in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

13. *Honore*.—So also B. The common text has *Majestatis*.

18. *Tuae*.—Om. B. *Tuae* is omitted also in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

19. *Unigenitum*.—The Vulgate text is *unicum*. But B., as also the *Cod. Thomasi Alex.*, cited by Daniel, *ubi supr.*, read *unigenitum*. B. omits *et*.

23. *Tu ad liberandum*.—The common reading is, "Tu, ad liberandum suscepturus hominem," which is rendered in the Prayer-Book of the Anglican Church, "When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man." But "ad liberandum suscepturus hominem" would seem rather to

mean, "when Thou wast about to take upon Thee man [i. e. human nature], for the purpose of deliverance, Thou didst not abhor," &c. Perhaps the translators of the English Prayer-Book may have intended the insertion of a parenthesis, "when Thou tookest upon Thee (to deliver) man, Thou didst not abhor," &c. But it would be very difficult to make this intelligible in reading. Some of the old English versions which we find in the Primers of the fifteenth century appear to have omitted *suscepturus*, for they read, "Thou wert not skoymous [squeamish] of the maydens womb to delyuer mankind."—Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglic.*, vol. ii. p. 14. Others seem to have connected *suscepturus* and *virginis uterum*, "Thou

Tu ad dexteram dei sedes in gloria patris
iudex crederis esse venturus

Tu ergo quessimus nobis tuis famulis subueni
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti

30

Eternam pac cum sanctis tuis gloriam munerari
saluum pac populum tuum domine
et benedic hereditati tue
et rege eos et extolle illos usque in seculum

Gloss.—32. *Populum*.—i. christianum. 33. *Hereditati*.—i. ecclesiae. 34. *Rege*.—i. in bonis operibus. *Extolle*.—i. defende. *In seculum*.—i. in uita aeterna.

wert noȝt skoymes to take the maiden es wombe, for to deliver mankynde.”—*Ibid.*, p. 231. In the Primer of 1535, as edited by Dr. Burton (*Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Oxford, 1834, p. 82), this verse is thus rendered: “Thou (when Thou shouldest take upon Thee our nature to deliver man) didst not abhor the virgin’s womb.” It appears from these discrepancies that there was anciently a difficulty in the interpretation of this passage.—Comp. Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. 299. But our MS. agrees with B., inserting the word *mundum*, and giving *suscipisti* for *suscepturus*. These readings remove all difficulty, and are very probably the true text: “Thou tookest upon Thee man to deliver the world; Thou didst not abhor the Virgin’s womb: Having overcome the sting of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to believers.”

27. *Sedes*.—This is the modern reading. But B. has *sedens*, which is better. *In gloria patris*.—It is doubtful whether

the construction should be *sedes* [*sedens*] *in gloria Patris*—“Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father,” or, *in gloria Patris iudex venturus*, “We believe that Thou shalt come, in the glory of the Father, to be our Judge.”

29. *Tu*.—Te, B., which is also the modern text. *Nobis*.—Omitted in Vulg. text. But B. reads *nobis*. *Quessimus*.—For *Quæsumus*.

31. *Eternam fac*.—The common text, as given in the Roman Breviary, and translated in the English Prayer-Book, is, “*Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari*,” “Make them to be *numbered* with thy saints, in glory everlasting.” But B. and all copies of the *Te Deum* which I have seen in any MS. older than the sixteenth century, have, “*Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis* [B. omits *tuis*] *gloria munerari*,” or “in [or cum] *gloria munerari*,” which the old English versions published by Mr. Maskell render, “Make hem to be rewardid with thi seyntis: in blisse, with everlastinge glorie (*Mo-*

PER SINGULOS DIES BENEDICIMUS TE
ET LAUDAMUS NOMEN TUUM IN AETERNUM
ET IN SECVLUM SECVLI.

35

FIAT DOMINE MISERICORDIA TUA SUPER NOS
QUEMADMODUM SPERAUIMUS IN TE.

GLOSS.—35. *Per singulos dies*.—i. in prosperis et in adversis sine ullo intervallo te benedicimus.
38. *Fiat*.—i. oratio aeclesiae.

num. *Rit.* ii. 14), or "Make hem to be rewarded with thi seyntis in endeles blisse" (*ibid.*, 230, 232); and every one acquainted with the black letter writing of the fifteenth century will at once see how easily *munerari* may be mistaken for *numerari*. That *munerari* is the true reading, can scarcely, I think, admit of a doubt; but *aeternam* and *gloriam* are certainly corrupt, and scarcely make sense. We ought, evidently, to read *eterna* and *gloria*, as in B. It is also clear that the English Prayer-Book and older versions have misinterpreted this passage by the insertion of the word *them*: "Make them," &c.; for the construction plainly is, "Quos redemisti fac munerari," and the verse, "whom thou hast redeemed," ought therefore to be connected with that which follows, not with that which precedes: "We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants: make Thou to be rewarded with Thy saints, in glory everlasting, those whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood." Daniel says: "Procul dubio in hac voce" [*munerari*] "tenes scripturam antiquissimam et genuinam. *Numerari* primum occurrit in Brev. Italis v. c. in Franc. anni 1495" [i. e. a Franciscan Breviary, printed at Venice in that

year]—"et Lg." [by these letters he refers to the *Heures a l'usage de Lengres*, printed at Troyes, without a date]. "Seculo decimo sexto ecclesia Romana in ejusmodi litibus interdum *ταλίζουσα* recentiorem scripturam in textum recepit."—*Loc. cit.*

32. *Salvum fac*.—This is Ps. xxvii. 9. *Vulg.* The *Te Deum*, properly so called, ends at line 31: all that follows is from the Psalms, and, as will be seen (see note on line 38), was varied at different times, and in different MSS.

34. *In seculum*.—Ad seculum, B. The common text reads, "in aeternum."

35. *Per singulos*.—This is Ps. cxliv. 2, *Vulg.*, with the change of *benedicimus* and *laudamus* for *benedicam* and *laudabo*.

36. *In aeternum*.—The common text reads *in seculum*. B. reads *in eternum*.

37. *Seculi*. B. adds *Amen*.

38. *Fiat Domine*.—Ps. xxxii. 22, *Vulg.* The common text reads, "Fiat misericordia tua, Domine," but B. agrees with our MS. Between lines 37 and 38 our MS. omits the two verses of the common text, "Dignare Domine, die isto, sine peccato nos custodire: miserere nostri Domine, miserere nostri;" and after v. 38 it also omits the verse, "In te Domine speravi: non confundar in aeternum." And the

Te patrem adoramus eternum. te sempiternum filium inuocamus. teque spiritum sanctum in una diuinitatis substantia manentem confitemur.

Tibi uni deo in trinitate debitas laudes ꝛ gratias referimus ut te insepabili uoce laudare mereamur per eterna secula.

same verses are omitted in B. These are, therefore, in all probability, interpolations of a later date. The last is obviously taken from Ps. xxxi. 1, or Ps. lxxi. 1, and *Miserere nostri* is from Tob. viii. 10 (*Vulg.*) The other verse, *Dignare Domine*, occurs, as Ussher has remarked, in the Greek *Hymnus Vespertinus*, which he has published in his *Tract. de Symbolo Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, p. 43 (*Works*, Elrington's edit., vol. vii. p. 337); and he might have added, that there also it is preceded by

the verse, *Per singulos dies*, from Ps. cxliv. 2.

Te patrem.—What follows, although by the same scribe, is in a somewhat different and more angular character, and was not, therefore, intended as a part of the *Te Deum*. It does not occur in B.; but Ussher found it in his copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and quotes it without any variation, as above, except that the concluding words were in his copy, “per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.”

XIV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "ALTUS PROSATOR."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan from an ancient copy of the Book of Hymns, supposed to be that which is now at St. Isidore's in Rome. He tells us that in that MS. it had two Prefaces, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, of which he has given only the substance; and that there were Arguments prefixed to each stanza, of which he has translated the Irish words¹ that occurred intermixed with Latin in the original, his object in the publication having been historical or religious, not philological. It is evident, however, that the text of the Hymn, as Colgan has printed it, is in many places corrupt, arising from errors of the press, or of transcription, so that there is great need of a more correct and careful edition of it. But it unfortunately happens that a leaf of the Dublin MS. is lost, which renders the present text imperfect from stanza O to X, inclusive: and the only other copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access,—that preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, a MS. of the fifteenth century, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy,—is even still more defective, all being lost after stanza H. We must, therefore, still depend upon Colgan's copy for the missing stanzas.

The *Altus* of St. Columba, in one account of it, is said to have been composed as a penitential exercise for the three battles², of which he had been the occasion in Ireland;—but a second tradition, recorded also in the Preface, tells us that it was an extemporaneous effusion. The former account represents it to have been composed, after seven years of study, in the Black Church of Derry,

¹ *Irish words*.—"Hymnus primus habuit duas præfationes, partim Latino, partim Hibernico idiomate præfixas, quarum summam tantum hic exhibemus. Singulæ etiam strophæ, seu capitula, habent præfixa sua argumenta, quæ ab aliquo veteri Scholiasta videntur adjectæ, in quibus nihil immutavimus,

nisi quod quædam hinc inde interjecta verba Hibernica, reddamus Latina."—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

² *Battles*.—See Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 253, who quotes the preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*; which will be found, with a translation, in Addit. Note A.

in Ireland: the latter states that it was uttered extemporaneously in Hy. Few can doubt that, if we are to treat such legends as deserving of criticism, the former is in every point of view the more probable tradition. O'Donnell¹ (if we may trust Colgan's version) omits all mention of the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

It is remarkable that the *Altus* has not been mentioned by Adamnan; but this circumstance cannot, perhaps, be urged as an argument against the authenticity of the Hymn, because the plan of Adamnan's work did not necessarily require him to notice the writings of St. Columba. If, however, a mission from St. Gregory the Great to the distant Abbot of Hy had been the occasion of a miraculous composition of this Hymn,—and miraculous it must have been, if so elaborate a production had been extemporaneous,—it would very naturally have fallen within the scope of St. Adamnan's memoir; and the circumstance could scarcely have been omitted by him, if he had known of it. We may, therefore, fairly conclude, that this legend, at least, if not the Hymn itself, was unknown to Adamnan.

But there is no reason why we should reject the former and less marvellous tradition—that the Hymn, if genuine, was composed in Ireland, before St. Columba's removal to Hy; and it is probable that the story of a mission from Rome to that *Ultima Thule* of Christendom, with gifts and relics presented by Pope Gregory the Great to Columba, was a legend invented after the time of Adamnan.

The Hymn is written in a rude Latinity, each strophe of six (or, as in the first stanza, seven) double lines, beginning with a letter of the alphabet in order; the metre a species of Trochaic dimeter, or tetrameter, as Bede calls it (see p. 163, note ^b), to be scanned without synalephe, with a rhyme or assonance at the end of the lines. Thus the first strophe, divided into its lines, will be as follows:—

Altus prositor vetustus,
Dierum et ingenitus,
Erat absque origine,
Primordi et crepidine,
Est et erit in secula,
Seculorum infinita.
Cui est unigenitus

Christus et Sanctus Spiritus.
Coeternus in gloria
Deitatis perpetua.
Non tres Deos depromimus,
Sed unum Deum dicimus,
Salva fide in personis
Tribus gloriosissimis.

¹ O'Donnell.—*Vit. quinta S. Columbæ*, lib. ii. c. 20, 21, ap. Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412.

See Addit. Note A, where the passage from O'Donnell is given.

There cannot be a doubt that the Hymn is of considerable antiquity, and that it is Irish. It quotes in many places a Latin version of the Scriptures older than the recension of St. Jerome; it is written in a barbaric style, with many words of rare occurrence—some of them unknown even to the researches of Du Cange. Dr. Reeves has noticed the word *Dialis*, which seems peculiar to this Hymn and to Adamnan, in the sense of *divine*, *sacred*¹. Some other examples will be pointed out in the Notes.

In the following pages the Hymn has been printed as in the MS., with two lines in one—the double line consisting of sixteen syllables, as stated in the ancient Preface.

To each strophe, or stanza, is prefixed a Scholium, containing what the *Vetus Scholiasta*, as Colgan terms him, calls "The Title" and "The Argument." The *Title* is a short summary, in Latin, of the subject treated of in the stanza to which it is prefixed. The *Argument* is a text—sometimes two or more texts—of Scripture, on which the principal thought or subject-matter of the stanza is founded. Thus *The Title* of stanza A is, "*De Unitate et Trinitate trium Personarum.*" The *Argument* (Dan. vii. 9), "*Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam.*" See these Scholia translated in Addit. Note C.

In the Additional Notes will be found the Preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*, with the Gloss and Scholia of the same MS.; the Preface, as abridged and translated into Latin by Colgan from the MS. supposed to be now in Rome; and an attempt to give an English translation of the entire Hymn.

In the notes at the bottom of the pages the various readings of Colgan's printed copy are marked C.; and those of the MS. fragment in the *Leabhar Breac* are marked B.

¹ See Reeves, *Adamnan. Glossar. in voce.*



LOCUS huius sumus hic. Tempus Aedán meice Gabráin níg Alban, ocup Aeda meice Ainmepech níg hepenenn. Mupiciur autem uel poccar ipse ba ní román tunc. Ppéro Collumcille de nobile genere pctorum. Columba dicitur ut erit eretice prudenter pcut repenter et simplice pcut columbae. Caura quia uoluit deum laudare. Per septim annor hunc sumum reputant in nígna cellula rne lumine .i. ap chuinchib dilguba in inab cacha cule dremne do bpiuib for Diapmaic mac Cepbaill. j na cacha aile no bpiute tpe na fódun. Uel ut alii dicunt, ip co hopunn do ponab .i. apane lache no bá columcille in hí, j ní bá nech oca ácc bofchín, j ní baf biab occu ácc cpiachap corpa. Arbert iapum Columcille ppi báichín, Do foilet oigib huaplú cucunn indiu a báichín .i. muineir Driuguir tanca- tar conarcebaib borom; j arbertrom ppi báichín, bí í forr icpichalaim na nógéb conuiguppa don muilunn. Duididrom fap a epe diapauile chloich baf í ino pectep .i. blachnac a hainm, j mapaid beor, j í fuppi do gnichep poinn ipin phpoinciz. ba tpiom tpa lepeom a epe, conderpa in immunpa tpa opb aipgicpech, o éa pen con- dice in mulenn .i. abiutor laborantium jc. In tan imorpo do pat in céé foéa íp in mulenn íp ann do chuaid icenn in chetna caipcill, ocup íp immaille porcach in bolc do blich j in cimmun do denam. Ocup íp co hoponn do ponab píc. Íp in choicuib bliadain fepcat ap .cccc. iap fgein cpiut do chuaid colum cille do hí, ut beba dicit, anno dominicae incarnationis .ccccxv. quo tempore gubernaculum romani imperii port iuritianum iuritur minor accepit. Uenit de hibernia pper- pter et abbat habitu et uita monachi iniguii nomine Columbi dritoniam pre- dicaturus uerbum Dei prouinciar septimtrionalium pctorum. bpiuib autem filius Melchon pegabat pctor tunc, et ipse immolauit columbo hí, ubi columbur cum erret annorum .lxxvi. repultur erit. Port uero .xxxi. ex quo ipse dritca- niam preedicaturus abiit.

Rucab tpa in cimmunpa do driuguir fap, icommain na naipceba tuccha huab .i. in ópiur, .i. in mórgem a hainmride, j immain na pechmaime. Ro cloimcloipet imorpo na immain. chuipchibe tpi caipcill ann do ponab Driuguir .i. hic rublatur, ocup opbeñ, j uagatur. O dochotar imorpo í cenn caippenca ind immun do driuguir, do beo- chatar aingil de combicir innaperrrom connoiched leopeom in caipcel pen, atcpai- geb driuguir ap a poinn peom connice pen. O porched imorpo pen no paibicir inna hangil, no paibed dna Driuguir, co capnic incimmun fonbinnar pin. Ro choch- laiz tpa Driuguir a coibrena cucupom apno piciupeom ice no chduimchluipet. acbe- natrom dna ba hiat. j porboe dilgub de. Ocup acbenitrom nobba locht for pin cimmun ácc a laizet do molab in tpiúit ann per re, cia no molab tpa na bulib. Ocup do poacht in cinchpechadpin co columcille, j íp rein pochun denma in te chpiute. Opb aipgicpech píl híc mope ebneo, apindipir cathalceda tucab focha in caipcillre .i. cpetem oenatad co foiricir cpetatad. Tpe pichim dna do ponab, j bí epnail fuppiurpib .i. apcipicailir j uilgarip. Apcipicailir ubi fiunt tpaigib comam-

reſba compoblaide cocuſummar po aipre 7 ceip. 7 conop rubrequenr cī illoc pſe-
cedentur innatuarlucað. uulgarur imorpo du imbi impecra pillab 7 cechnaimchin
ocur lechnann, 7 iped 6n pīl hīc. Sé līne dñā in cech caipceul. 7 .xvi. pillaba cech
līni cen mocha in cet caipcell. un. līne imorpo androm ar ip molað de pīl annrīde.
Cubab dñā inð numuip ecucurummar pñip na caipceil archena ar ecucurumma dñā
pñia dulib. Numip reba autem in cneaturip quia rex diebur factae pñc.
Oportet titulum et argumentum erpe ante unumquemque capitulum.

Ropé epā blizeð gabala huiur 5mni co pā gabcha quip potep Deo etip cech dā caipceil, 7
ip de no biad a pāch pñip arīp amlaib po chanað pñiur. Actaas epā pācha imba pñp
inð immunpā, .i. aingil ipſecnarcur cēmbecur ip o gabail. Nī pinnpā demun pēc mēc
nob gēba cech dñā. 7 nī imberpāc dñā namaic hē ipinð lo in gēba. ocur dñā nī dñā
debaib ip in cūg inžebchap cognatāch. Aingib dñā ar cech mībað ađc ec pñi
adaip. 7 dñā nī dñā gōpca na nocta ip in pñp in gēbap commenic 7 aliae multae
pñc.

ISSC in titul de unitate 7 trinitate epium perſonarum. Ip pñ
imorpo inð anſamant in chanoip pñpā pochaigep in caipceil ut in
Danielo uel in Epāia legicup, Uecurcur diepūm pebebat pñpēb pñem
puam. Uecurcur diepūm aeternur tempopum epāt. Uecurcur diepūm
deur dicicup, pñp multitudine diepūm ante quop deur epāt, uel
quia fuit [ante] omnia tempōna. Canom dñā pācha dō beppom
inte quia ipre pñpēta fuit. Ocur 6 Daniul pñpñiub euc ar ipre
po po debenchu 7 po po pñepiū. Ipe dñā Columella po po debenchu
7 po po pñepiū dō pāchib hēpenn.

ALTUS PROSOR UETUSTUS DIERUM ET INGENITUS
ERAT ABSQUE ORIGINE PRIMORDII ET CREPIDINE
EST ET ERIT IN SECUŁA SECUŁORUM INFINITA
CUI EST UNIGENITUS CHRISTUS ET SANCTUS SPI-
RITUS
COAETERNUS IN GLORIA DIETATIS PERPETUAE
NON TRIS DEOS DEPRIMUMUS SED UNUM DEUM
DICIMUS
SALUA FIDE IN PERSONIS TRIBUS GLORIOSISSIMIS

Gloss.—1. *Prosator*.—i. genitor, .i. intabbul . . . [the awful . . .]. *Uetus-*
tus.—i. eternus, .i. pñmichip na naimrep, .i. pñiū 7 coipech diap tempōna [i. senior
of the times, .i. elder and first of our times]. *Dierum*.—i. temporum. 2. *Absque ori-*
gine.—i. cen achap no cen bunab [without father, or without origin]. 3. *Secula*.
—i. futurorum. *Seculorum*.—i. pñsentium. 4. *Unigenitus*.—Primogenitus, quia nemo
ante ipsum est, unigenitus quia nemo post ipsum est. *Christus*.—Misias ebraice, Christus
grece, Uinctus latine. 7. *Salua*.—i. intigra.

1. *Altus*.—For a translation of the Preface, and of the Scho-
lia or arguments prefixed to each stanza, see Add. Notes A and C. It will be ob-

1Se in titul. De formatione. 1x. graduum. eribur pnaeternitrit non per ignoranciam reb pro angustia capituli pnaeternitrit. 1Sl imorpo ino argamant. Fiat lux 7 paccu ept.

BONOS CREAVIT ANGELOS ORDINES ET ARCHANGELOS
PRINCIPATUUM AC SEBIVM POTESTATUM VIRTUTIVM.
UTI NON ESSET BONITAS OTIOSA AC MAIESTAS
TRINITATIS IN OMNIBUS LARGITATIS MUNERIBUS
SED HABERET CELESTIA IN QUIBUS PREUVIGLIA
OSTENDERET MAGNOPERE POSSIBILI PATIMINE.

10

Gloss.—8. *Archangelos*.—i. bonos. 9. *Sedium*.—i. troni. *Virtutum*.—i. causa rithmi. 10. *Uti*.—i. ut. *Bonitas*.—i. benevolentia. *Otiosa*.—i. sine operatione. .i. antach no bismam cenmaine doépmiub [dilatatory or lazy, without giving away goods]. 12. *Haberet*.—i. ut. *Celestia*.—i. elimenta vel ministeria. *Previgilia*.—i. napemiaba 7 na honore, .i. cech grad opailu [i. e. the pre-eminences and honors, i. e. of each more beautiful grade], .i. quasi privata lex. 13. *Magnopere*.—i. on mórgnim. no in mopgnecheb, .i. commór, .i. ónb aipner pochmai. .i. on molab pochmai do bepat aingil dicencer panceur panceur dominur [i. e. from the great deed, or the great agent, i. very great, .i. from the glorious testimony, .i. from the glorious praise which the angels give, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord].

served that in the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, Dan. vii. 9, is quoted from an Ante-Hieronymian version: *vetustus*, not *antiquus*, dienum. It is curious that the scholiast seems uncertain whether this passage was in Daniel or Isaiah: but the words "vel in Esaia" were probably the insertion of some transcriber. They occur in C, but not in B. *Prositor*.—Pro-sator, C. Prosetor, B. *Prosator* is Father, Creator, from *prosero*, to bring forth, beget. The Gloss explains the word *genitor*. The Isidorian Glossaries have "*Prosatrix*, genetrix." *Opp. Isidori Hisp.*, tom. vii. (*Append.*, xxiv. p. 483) 4°, Romæ, 1803. *Dierum*.—To be read as a trisyllable.

2. *Primordii*.—Primordio, C. Primordi, B. It must be pronounced *Primordi* to suit the metre. *Crepidino*.—*Kρηνίς*, border, edge, foundation. *Crepido* is used frequently in the Vulgate, Ex. ii. 5; Lev. i. 15; Judic. vii. 22, *et alibi*. The Greek

Kρηνίς is explained, *gradus, basis, ripa, fundamentum*, *Glossar. in Octateuch*: *κρηνίδωμα, fundamentum, basis*. Ezek. xliii.

14. *Aquil.* and *Vulg.*

4. *Christus*.—The Gloss on this word is from Isidor. *Etymolog.*, lib. xvii. c. 2, n. 6.

5. *Dietatis*.—Deitatis, C. *Perpetuas*.—Perpetua, C. A more recent hand has written "vel a" over the final ae in the MS. Perpetua is necessary to rhyme with *gloria*.

6. *Tris*.—Tres, C. *Dicimus*.—"Dñm," C., an evident mistake; for *Domini* would be inconsistent with the rhyme.

7. *Salva*.—Under this line are the words *In ipis chachalacba . . .* [the Catholic faith . . .], with some other words very obscure, but which may be read 7 pop a mchaib dompa [may I be on its protection].

DE TRANSMIGRATIONE .IX. GRADUUM PRINCIPUM, IPE IN CICUL. APUD APOCALIPSI IMORPIO DO BEPAR IND ARGAMANT ID EPT UIOI ICETIAM DE CELO CECIDIT IN TERRAM. 7 IN ERAIA, QUOMODO CECIDIT LUCIFER QUI MANE ORIEBAPIT.

Celi de regni apice stationis angelicæ
claritate præfulgoris uenustate speciminis
superbiendo ruerat lucifer quem formauerat
apostataeque angeli eodem lapsu lugubri
auctoris cenodoxiae peruicacis inuidiae
ceteris remanentibus in suis principatibus.

15

GLOSS.—15. *Speciminis*.—i. ingnee [form, beauty]. 16. *Lucifer*.—i. lucem ferens. *Formauerat*.—i. Deus. 17. *Apostata*.—i. ruerant, .i. na haingil biceimnecha, .i. onbipund tuicim [.i. the lapsed angels, .i. from their lamentable fall]. *Lugubri*.—i. choimtech [lamentable], .i. uadib pein 7 aluip [from themselves and others] quia demones suum lapsum lugent. 18. *Cenodoxiae*. .i. inanis gloriæ vel superbiæ, vel na glorie epcone [the common glory] nam cenon grece comune latine dicitur, .i. epcon [common] doxia vero gloria. *Pervicacis*. Pervicax dicitur qui in proposito suo perseverat usque in victoriam. 19. *Ceteris*.—i. angelis.

8. *Bonos*.—In the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, or *capitulum*, the text *Fiat lux* is quoted as the record of the creation of angels, who are generally assumed by divines to have been included in the word *Light*.—See Isidor. Hispal., *Sentent.*, lib. i. c. 10, n. 3, who says, "ante omnem creaturam angeli facti sunt, dum dictum est, *Fiat lux*." The nine orders or degrees of angels are usually enumerated thus: Angeli, Archangeli, Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Principatus, Potestates, Cherubim, Seraphim. See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, lib. vii. c. 5. Of these our author mentions only six, omitting three (viz., Dominationes, Cherubim, and Seraphim), which the Scholiast tells us were omitted, not because he was ignorant of them, but because he found it impossible to bring them into the limits of his verse. The Gloss informs us that the author gave the name of *sedes* to one of these orders, instead of

throni, and that he wrote *virtutum*, instead of *virtutum*, for the sake of the metre. In the margin there are the following notes: one in Latin (which the Editor has not found in the works of Isidore)—"Ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus condidit Deus angelicam creaturam et informem materiam, Isidorus dicit." The other in Irish:—Ip aipe po fechmall hipuphfn 7 rapaphin fech na hf aile apice ata ria o doinib rap netapgnu 7 atreb. Ipeat po .i. na .ix. ngpabpa .i. angeli archangeli uirtutep potepcater principatur dominationep tponi hipuphim 7 rapaphim. ["The reason he has passed over the Hiruphin and Saraphin beyond the others is, because they are farther from men in their distance and residence. And these are the nine orders, viz., angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominions, thrones, Hiruphim, and Saraphim"]. *Ordines*.—Archangelos et ordines, C.

De puma diabuli in titulo .i. de motatione nominis Luciferi in draconem. וְיִמְרֹחוּ מִבְּאֵרְ הַמָּוֶת עַתָּה בְּאֵרְ הַמָּוֶת Ecce draco nuphur habens capita .iii. et cornua .x. et cauda eius traxit secum tertiam partem orbem uel rotellarum.

DRACO magnus deterrimus terribilis et antiquus 20
qui fuit serpens lubricus sapientior omnibus
bestiis et animantibus terrae peracioribus
terciam partem siderum traxit secum in barathrum
locorum infernalium diuersorumque carcerum
refuga ueri luminis parasito praecipites 25

Gloss.—20. *Draco*.—i. diabolus. *Deterrimus*.—i. pessimus, vel teterrimus, .i. horribilissimus. 21. *Lubricus*.—i. plemon [slippery]. *Sapientior*.—i. tuachliu [more subtle, cunning] bib [est] sapientia in bono et in malo, in bono, ut dauid dicit Initium sapientiae etc. [Ps. cx. 10]. in malo, ut christus Perdam sapientiam sapientium huius mundi [1 Cor. i. 15]. 22. *Animantibus*.—i. animalibus. 23. *Tertiam partem*.—i. de omnibus angelis vel de consentientibus. *Siderum*.—i. graduum celestium .i. angelorum. *Barathrum*.—i. in infernum .i. imbaile chpo [i. e. into the city of death]. 25. *Parasito*.—i. onb puipeon .i. uob pein ar puipeon . . . [from a mountebank, i. e. of his own accord he is a mountebank]. *Praecipites*.—i. inna pinbpaigtechab .i. ipepn [i. e. the precipitous places, viz. hell].

9. *Principatuum*.—Principatum, B. *Virtutum*.—Virtutum, C. Virtutum, B.

11. *Largitatis*.—Largitatis, B.

12. *Privilegia*.—Privilegia, C. Privilegia, B. The Gloss assumes the reading *Privilegia*, which is necessary to agree with *Celestia*.

13. *Fatimine*.—Fatimini, B. This word does not occur in the dictionaries, nor in Du Cange. It seems to signify *expression, manifestation*, from *fator, for*, to speak; or *fateor*, to manifest. See Reeves, *Adamnan, Glossar. in voc. Famen*, p. 444.

14. *Celi*.—For *Transmigrationes* in the Scholium, C. has *translations*. The word seems to be applied here to the fall of the angels, who are called "the nine orders or degrees of *Prince*," in reference, apparently, to the passages of Scripture in which Satan is called *Prince* (John, xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; Eph., ii. 2).

15. *Speciminis*.—Here used to denote honour, glory, ornament, a sense in which the word occurs in Seneca and Apuleius.

17. *Apostata*.—In the margin is this note: "Apostata grece, recessor a fidelibus interpretatur latine; vel lugubrium lignum est super quod etiam aves stare non possunt, quia alimni tucab uobpide pop cech plemon [from its slipperiness; the name was given from this to everything slippery]." Does this note confound *lugubris* and *lubricus*?

18. *Cenodoxia*.—Interpreted in the Gloss *inanis gloria, κενή δόξη*. Isidor. Hisp. uses the word: "Multos autem ex eis [monachis] cenodoxiae morbus commaculat." *De eccl. Officiis*, lib. ii. 16, n. 18. See Du Cange, *Glossar. in voc.* The second etymology, *κοινή δόξη*, is a mistake. The construction is, "And the apostate angels" [*ruerunt*, fell], "by the same lamentable fall of the author of vain glory, of obstinate hate, the others remaining in their principalities." *Pervicacis*.—The Gloss is from Isidor. Hispal., *Etymol.*, lib. x. 211.

20. *Deterrimus*.—Teterrimus, C. *Antiquus*.—Apoc. xii. 9, xx. 2.

De creatione elementorum mundi ⁊ hominū regentū ea portea more
in cūl. In īmōrīo mō arġamānt. In pīncipīo fecit deū celum ⁊
terrām ut in ġenēsi dicitur.

Excelsum mundi machinam preuidens et armoniam
caelum et terram pecerat mare et aquas condidit
herbarum quoque gēmina uirgultorum arbuscula
solem lunam ac sidera ignem ac necessaria
aves pisces et peccora bestias et animalia 30
hominem demum regere protoplastum praesagmine.

Gloss.—26. *Machinam*.—i. materiam, i. massam. *Armoniam*.—i. in unchubbūp pīl ecēp na
dūle [i. the harmony that is between things created]. 27. *Caelum*.—i. invisibilis omnis creatura.
Terram.—i. omnis creatura visibilis terra vocatur. *Mare*.—i. a multitudinē dictum, vel a meando. 28.
Herbarum.—i. christus. 30. *Bestias*.—i. quicquid ore et ungine [read unguine] sevit, bestia dicitur.
31. *Hominem*.—i. Adam, i. omnia elementa terrena. *Protoplastum*.—i. protos, græce: primus, latine:
plastus, i. formatus, i. in cēcchpūca [the first created] i. corpus. *Praesagmine*.—i. o pīlōġāpīchin-
necht [i. host = leadership].

21. *Lubricus*.—In the margin there is
the following note: "Lubricus a libro,
quod est nomen cui oblenita
scilipes adherere non possunt,
finitatem omnis levis de quo
quis labitur lubricus dicitur, don chpunn
reimbite eoin in a bapp, ⁊ bīa cacc
bō ġnōtēp in cīpīcī [from that tree, on
whose top there are usually birds, and from
whose dung silk is made]. The remainder
of this note is very obscure, and the Editor
has not succeeded in reading it: it con-
cludes with the words "in barathro, i. in
inferno." *Lubrum*, in the Glossary of Pa-
pias, is explained "rasile lignum." The
object of the first part of this note is
evidently to derive the word *Lubricus*
from the name of a tree, so slippery that
even flies cannot walk on its branches.—
See the Gloss on this passage in the *Leabhar
Breac*, Addit. Note B.

22. *Feracioribus*.—Ferocioribus, B.

25. *Refuga*.—Over the last syllable of

this word is written .l. x. [vol x], and a
more recent hand has written x on the
line below. *Refugax* is the reading of C.
Refugas, B. *Parasito*.—The Gloss takes
this word to signify a buffoon, or mounte-
bank. Du Cange has shown that *parasitus*
was used to signify a domestic servant,
who lives at his master's table. But it is
not easy to make sense from either of
these significations in the passage before
us. Perhaps we should read *paradiso*.
The gloss over *Præcipites* seems to un-
derstand *locos*. There is evidently cor-
ruption in the text.

26. *Excelsus*.—In the margin is this
note: ". . . . dicit. Oportuit ut terre
celestis creatura prece . . ." Nothing
more is legible. It was evidently a passage
quoted from some ecclesiastical writer,
perhaps Bede; but the editor has not been
able to find it. *Armoniam*.—Ermoniam,
C.

27. *Et terram*.—Terram, C.

Ipe in titul, de laude dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. Ipi in arguunt. Quando feci celum et terram collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia salomonis dicitur.

FACTIS simul sideribus etheris luminaribus
collaudaverunt angeli factura præmirabili
immensæ molis dominum opificem celestium
preconio laudabile debito et immobile
concentuque egregio grates egerunt domino
amore et arbitrio non naturæ donario.

35

Gloss.—32. *Etheris*.—i. in æther [the ether, or air]. 33. *Collaudaverunt*.—i. me, i. postquam creati sunt angeli dixerunt, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. 34. *Molis*.—i. non corporalis molis. *Opificem*.—i. gnumdenmab [a work doer], i. opus et faciens. 36. *Concentuque*.—i. on choecetul epergna [with magnificent singing together]. *Grates*.—i. pro gratias, causa rituum. 37. *Amore*.—i. præ. *Arbitrio*.—Arbitrium est proprium conatus animi. *Naturæ*.—i. in in ætheris po chlannab molab de [not in their nature was implanted the praise of God], sed in voluntate et potestate sua, sicut intendit ante ubi dicit amore et arbitrio, ut dicunt, an conicpactur facere malum ma ni beth ghab de occa [as they say that they would have been able to do evil if they had not had the love of God].

29. *Ac sidera*.—Ac sydera, C., B. *Et necessaria*.—Et om., B. Ac necessaria, C.

30. *Pecora*.—Pecora, C. *Et animalia*.—Et om., C.

31. *Præsagmine*.—On this word is the following note in the margin: "Præsagmine .i. o pemthapchecul .i. chpircti no o plogaipchinnecht .i. o aipchin agminis hominum. Præsagmen enim a præsul et agmen componitur. Agmen Dei plogaipchinnecht. co po bai do Adam ut dicit creavit. Adam vero non fuit." Here some words are illegible; but what remains may be thus rendered: "Præsagmine, i. e. prophecy," [from *præsagire*, or *præsagare*], "i. e. of Christ, or host=leadership, i. e. the beginning of the host of mankind" [Adam being, as it were, the leader or chieftain of the human race]. "Præsagmen is compounded of *præsul* and *agmen*." The remaining words relating to Adam

are unintelligible, but may, perhaps, receive some light from the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breac*, where we read that God gave all things to Adam: "Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit." This, therefore, is the *præsagmen*, by which man bore rule over the inferior animals, whether we take that word to signify *prophecy* (exercised in Adam's naming all beasts), or to denote *superiority*, *power*, or *pre-eminence*, according to the second etymology given of it. See Addit. Note B.

32. *Factis*.—The Scholium prefixed to this stanza is thus translated:—"This is the Title, *De laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria, dicentes* [dicentibus, C.] *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia Salomonis dicitur*." We have here the ancient opinion that the

De peccato adae et de recunda puma diabuli in rebuccione adae in
titul. Iri inb angumant. Malebictur enir peppen terram comedepir
omnibur diebur uitae, ut in generi dicitur.

Trassatis primis duobus seductisque parentibus
secundo ruit Zabulus cum suis satilibus
quorum horrore uultuum sonoque uolitantium
consternarentur homines metu territi fragiles
non ualentes carnalibus haec intueri uisibus
qui nunc ligantur pascibus ergastolorum nexibus.

GLOSS.—38. *Grassatis*.—i. a diabulo. *Seductioque*.—i. ab hora conditionis. *Parentibus*.—i. Adam et Eva. 39. *Secundo*.—i. primo de celo ad terram; secundo ad infernum. *Zabulus*.—i. diabolus. *Cum suis*.—i. cum malis suis factoribus. *Satilitibus*.—Satilis a satii uelis. 40. *Quorum*.—i. demoniorum. *Volitantium*.—Vel denonum, vel ferarum. 41. *Consternerentur*.—i. no παύσειεν [they would have hidden themselves]. *Fragiles*.—i. fragilis dicitur eo quod facile frangi potest. 42. *Hæc intueri*.—i. agmina diabolica uolitantia. 43. *Qui*.—i. satiles. *Ergastolorum*.—i. na πιασθέντων no ἰμνηνόντων [i. e. the penal dungeons, or the wounding dungeons] ergastorum enim opus ex longum in tempus.

stars, created on the fourth day (Gen. i. 14-19), were the angels. This opinion is founded on Job, xxxviii. 7, which is probably the passage intended by our Scholiast, for nothing of the sort occurs in the Wisdom of Solomon. St. Gregory the Great, in his commentary on the passage, says: "Quia enim prima in tempore condita natura rationabilium spirituum creditur non immerito matutina astra angeli vocantur."—*Moral.*, lib. xxviii. c. 14. The Ante-Hieronymian version of Job, xxxviii. 7, as given by Sabatier, from the MS. Majoris Monast., is as follows:—"Quando facta sunt simul sidera, laudaverunt me voce magna omnes angeli mei" (which is a literal translation of the Septuagint). It will be observed that this older version, and not the present Vulgate, has been quoted by our Scholiast.

35. *Laudabile*.—Laudabili, C. *Immobile*.—Immobili, C.

38. *Grassatis*.—*Grassare* is to torment,

to assault. See p. 156, line 38, where we have, "*impiis verbis grassatur.*" "He [Christ] is assailed with impious words."

39. *Secundo*.—The Gloss explains that the first fall of the Devil was from heaven to earth (see lines 20, *sq.*); the second (after the fall of Adam) from earth to hell. The common opinion of divines is that the first fall of Satan took place before the creation of man, and immediately after his own creation: an inference which some deduce from the text, “*Ab initio mendax fuit.*” Jo. viii. 44. See Isidor. *Hispal. Sententiar.* i. x. 7. *Zabulus*, for *diabulus*, as the Gloss explains; from which we may infer that when this MS. was transcribed, the orthography *z* for *di* was becoming obscure. *Satilitibus*.—*Satellitibus*. C.

41. *Consternarentur*.—Consternerentur, C., an error probably of the press. The Gloss intimates that the consternation is increased by the demons being usually invisible.

De electione diabuli ex unitate angelorum in titul. Ἰνι μορρο ἰνδ
 ἀνγελῶν quod dicitur in γενεῇ Malebicta peppenr. Et in euangelio
 dicitur Uade pectro patanar ἡ non temptabit dominum deum tuum ἡ illi
 poli peptier.

Hic sublatus e medio deiectus est a domino
 cuius aeris spatium constipatur satellitum
 globo invisibilium turbido perduellium
 ne malis exemplaribus imbuti ac sceleribus
 nullis unquam tegentibus septis ac parietibus
 fornicarentur homines palam omnium oculis

45

Gloss.—44. *Hic*.—i. diabolus. *Sublatus*.—i. a præsencia dei, vel ex unitate fratrum. *Deiectus*.
 .i. ποταρπαδ [i. is cast down]. 45. *Constipatur*.—i. ὑπταρ [is filled, crowded]. *Satellitum*.—i.
 nanamur [i. the mercenary attendants]. 46. *Perduellium*.—i. ἰννῶν δεβῶχῶχ [of the two battling
 ones], i. inter se inuicem semper, no cāch [or battle] contra deum et homines. i. quasi duobus bellis
 bellatorum quia duellis bellum hostes duellium, .i. νᾶντιβ [enmity] perduellis inimicus. 47.
Malis.—i. demonum. *Exemplaribus*.—i. οἱ ἐνγῶνιβ [by their examples]. *Imbuti*.—i. homines.
 48. *Septis*.—i. sepes lignorum dicitur, paries autem lapidum. 49. *Fornicarentur*.—i. perdirentur, vel
 peccarent, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur.

43. *Ligantur*.—Ligatur, C. This read-
 ing agrees better with the Gloss over *qui*,
 which seems to take *qui* as singular; but
ligantur is evidently the true reading, and
 is the reading also of B. *Fascibus*.—
 Faucibus, C. *Ergastolorum*.—'Εργαστή-
 ριον, a prison where the convicts are
 compelled to labour. "Carcer, vel locus
 ubi damnati marmora secant."—*Isidori*
Gloss. Or the fetters with which prison-
 ers are secured.—*Du Cange*, in voc.

44. *Hic*.—There is a mark like this, :—,
 over this word, and a similar mark under
 the word "zabulus" in ver. 39, which
 seem intended to show that *hic* refers to
zabulus. Hence the Gloss "i. diabolus"
 is written under *Hic*, not over it, to avoid
 interfering with the grammatical mark.
Deiectus.—Diectus, B.

45. *Cujus*.—Alluding, probably, to the
 Apostle's saying, Eph. ii. 2, "Princeps
 potestatis aeris hujus;" the meaning will

then be, "the space of *his* air [i. e. the
 Devil's air] is filled by a crowd of satel-
 lites." Or perhaps the construction is
 "cujus satellitum;"—"by the crowd of
 whose [i. e. the devil's] satellites the air
 is filled or choked up." *Satellitum*.—
 Satellitum, C.

46. *Perduellium*.—The construction
 seems to be "Globo turbido satellitum
 invisibilium perduellium." The Gloss
 derives *duellum* from *duo* and *bellum*;
 but Isidore of Seville, on the contrary,
 derives *bellum* from *duellum*: "postea"
 (he says) "detracta, et mutata litera"
 [i. e. detracta litera *d*, et mutata *u* in *δ*]
 "dictum est bellum."—*Etymolog.*, lib.
 xviii. c. 1, n. 9.

47. *Ne malis*.—This seems to be given
 as the reason why the devils are invisible,
 lest, if their wickedness were visible, men
 should imitate them, in open shameless-
 ness. *Imbuti*.—C. omits this word, pro-

De eo quod uehunt nubes aquar ab celum. Ir pe in titul. ISPI ind-
apgamaint, ut dauid dicit, Educenr nuber ab extremo terrae. ⁊ alibi
dicit. qui producit uentor de terraupr ruit.

INuehunt nubes pontias ex pontibus brumalias 50
tribus profundioribus occiani dodrantibus
maris celi climatibus ceruleis turbinibus
profuturas segitibus uiniis et germinibus
agitatae flaminibus tesaris emergentibus
quique paludes marinas euacuant reciprocas. 55

Gloss.—50. *Inuehunt*.—i. conocbat no imarchupit [they raise or carry]. *Pontias*.—i. inna
lipu [the seas]. *Brumalias*.—i. bruma, a brevi motu solis in eo, ir aipe . . . mam pech . . .
apimud upce bruma edax, vel edacitas interpretatur. 52. *Climatibus*.—i. o apbaib [from
high places]. *Turbinibus*.—i. o na connaib dubglappaib no o na hachchaib dubglar-
paib [from the dark-green waves, or from the dark-green fields]. 53. *Profuturas*.—i. inna hī
capimnigrit [those over which they will pass]. *Segitibus*.—i. bonis hominibus. *Viniis*.—i. iustis.
Germinibus.—i. vilibus hominibus. 54. *Flaminibus*.—i. ventis. *Emergentibus*.—i. exaltantibus.
55. *Quique*.—i. venti. *Paludes*.—i. profundiores fontes vel tesauri, i. ad falles [? folles] uentorum qui
sunt in tesaris. *Reciprocas*.—i. nahab . . . : [the causes?].

bably by an error of the press, for the omission would be a violation both of the metre and sense.

50. *Pontias*.—The Gloss explains this word as if it signified *seas*, from *pontus*; but it is not found in any of the printed Glossaries of mediæval Latinity. *Brumalias*.—*Brumalibus*, C. Under this word, and also under *pontias*, are two dots, showing the opinion of the Scholiast that they are to be construed together. The Gloss on this word is in some places illegible; it gives the usual etymologies of *Bruma*, viz. *quasi brevissima dies*; or from the Greek βρῦμα, "edacitas," because in winter animals eat most.—Isid. Hispal., *Etymol.* v. xxxv. 6. The Irish words in the Gloss, so far as they are legible, seem to indicate another derivation, probably that of *Hiems*, ap immud upce, "from abundance of water." Isid. Hispal., in his Glossary,

gives the word *Brumalia*, which he explains "resinosa pluvia," i. e. fetid rain. See also Du Cange, in v. *Bromosus*. The adjective *Brumalius* is of unusual occurrence, and was unknown to Du Cange.

51. *Occiani*.—*Oceani*, C. *Dodrantibus*.—In this line there are dots under *tribus*, *profundioribus*, and *dodrantibus*, showing that they are grammatically connected. *Dodrans* is explained by Du Cange, from Papias, "tres quælibet partes, quarta remota," which is the sense in which the word is used in classical Latin; but it is not easy to see how it can have that signification here: "the three deeper three-fourths of the ocean" is a strange expression. In the margin there is a note which is almost wholly illegible, and has been partly cut off by the plough of the modern binder; it appears to be intended chiefly to explain *dodrans*.

De intolerabile pena peccatorum in inferno in titul. 171 mbarza-
maint quod iob dicit Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis.

RADUCA AC TIRANNICA MUNDIQUE MOMENTANIA
REGUM PRESENTI GLORIA NUTU DEI DEPOSITA
ECCE GIGANTES GEMERE SUB AQUIS MAGNO ULCERE
COMPROBANTUR INCENDIO ADURI AC SUPPLICIO
COCITIQUE CARUBDIBUS STRANGULATI TURGENTIBUS 60
SCILLIS OBTECTI FLUCTIBUS ELIDUNTUR ET SCROPIS.

Gloss.—56. *Momentania*.—i. in momentum temporis. 58. *Gigantes*.—i. potentes in inferno. *Sub aquis*.—i. sub unda penarum, i. poena intolerabili. 59. *Comprobantur*.—i. in scriptura. *Aduri*.—i. colorisciter [to be burned]. 60. *Cocitique*.—i. lechi ippinn [instead of hell]. *Carubdibus*.—i. o na pæbchoprib [ona ?] no mapbab, ap met a anpaib mæpæbchope mæmlaigter bo pæbchoprib cocit 7 ip chapcaib bo for ippenn [i. it is by the whirlpools they are killed: because of the greatness of the storm of the whirlpool, that are compared to the whirlpools of Cocitus; and it leads to hell]. *Strangulati*.—i. retenti. 61. *Fluctibus*.—i. o na connab pillecdaib, .i. o thonnaib in tæpæbchope dianib ainn pilla, et in Sicilia est, 7 apmeit ona a anpaib beor [i. from the waves of Scilla, .i. from the waves of the whirlpool whose name is Scilla, and is in Sicily, and in consequence of the greatness of its swelling likewise].

54. *Flaminibus*.—Over this word, and also over *emergentibus*, are two vertically placed dots (:), showing that these words were to be construed together. The existence of dots and marks, to show the grammatical connexion of the words, is a remarkable proof that in the age when the *Book of Hymns* was transcribed, the Latin text of such hymns as that now before us was beginning to be obscure.

56. *Tirannica*.—Tyrannica, C. *Momentania*.—Momentanea, C.

57. *Deposita*.—Deposita, C.

58. *Gigantes*.—Job, xxvi. 5.

59. *Aduri*.—Adusti, C. *Supplicio*.—Supplicio, C.

60. *Cocitique*.—Quotidieque, C. This is a manifest mistake of transcription. *Carubdibus*.—Charydibus, C., an error of the press for *Charybdibus*. *Turgentibus*.—Gurgitibus, C. In the margin of the MS. there is the following note:—"Cocitus .i.

nomen quarti fluminis in inferno. [Quatuor] flumina infernus tenet, id est, Cocitus, absque gaudio interpretatur. Strix" [*leg. Styx*] "[tris]titia interpretatur. Flegiton [Flegethon] flammeus interpretatur; et Achiron. Vel .iiii. nomina unius fluminis. Carubdibus turgentibus.—i. o na capcib epuachdaib, no gapbaib no bpuchachaib no o na pæbchoprib bopp-pabaigic" [i. from the mountainous, or rough or boiling rocks, or from the swelling whirlpools]. "Strangulati.—i. retenti, .i. teçtaib de pcellip" [held by the rocks]. "i pe pcel popaichmentap hic [this is the story that is commemorated here]. Scilla filia Porci" [Phoreys] "adamata est a Glauco Deo maris, quod displicuit Circe filie solis. Sciens autem Circe fontem ad quem Scilla quotidie veniebat venificia fecit. Postquam venit Scilla ad illum ut lauaret manus fontem, conuersa est statim in beluam marinam et noluit

In titul. De moderatione pluuiæ uenientis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter pluant. In improprio inb argumant. quod iob dicit. qui respicit aquar in nubibus, ne pariter pluant deoprum.

Ligatas aquas nubibus frequenter crebrat dominus
ut ne erumpant protinus simul ruptis obuiis
quarum uberioribus uenis uelut uberibus
pedetentim natantibus telli pertractus istius 65
telluris ac peruentibus diuersis in temporibus
usquam influunt flumina nunquam deficientia,

Gloss.—62. *Crebrat*.—i. pichlaib [drops, filters]. 63. *Simul ruptis*.—i. Anatabpirtu na pitecoipre, no anata pailizche na pitecoipre [the barriers are broken, or the barriers are made manifest] .i. ruptis ligationibus quibus quodammodo nubibus aqua. 64. *Quarum*.—i. imbrium. *Uberioribus*.—i. pro uberibus hic causa rithmi. 65. *Pedetentim*.—i. paulatim, .i. *Natantibus*.—i. aquis. *Telli*.—Tellus telli, secunde declinationis, ut Augustinus dicit et masculini generis, et potest dici tellus et feminini generis, hic et hæc tellus telluris. *Pertractus*.—i. cpi pichiri. 66. *Gellidis*.—i. hiems et ver. *Feruentibus*.—i. æstas et autumnus. 67. *Usquam*.—i. ubique. *Influunt*.—i. coipinnit [they well, i. e. burst up as from a well]. *Deficientia*.—eque ex ea tolluntur.

ad homines uenire propter formam suam, proiecit se in mare. Uidens mater Carubdis filiam suam Scillam in mare nantem, exiit in mare ut teneret eam, sed non potuit, et frequenter [ven]tis affligebant, ut ferunt fabulæ, uidens Neptunus quod in mare mittit tridentem in mare et statuit eas in scopulos et fixit Scillam in Sicilia et Carubdim in Italia cominus et uix nautæ nauigare possunt inter eas sine periculo."

62. *Crebrat*.—*Crebrare*, or *Cribrare*, is to sift; to drop through a chink or fissure. Hence it is explained in the Gloss, pichlaib, he drops, filters. The word is also written *cribare*, and *crevare*. French, *crever*. See Du Cange, v. *Crevare*.

63. *Obiicibus*.—Obicibus, C.

65. *Pedetentim*.—Pedetentim, C. *Telli*.—Terræ, C. The Gloss proves that *telli* was the ancient reading; for it quotes Augustine to show that *tellus*, *telli*, of the

second declension, was masculine; *tellus*, *telluris*, of the third declension, feminine. The Editor has not found anything of this kind in the works of St. Augustine, nor in the spurious work *De Grammatica*, attributed to him, and printed in the Appendix to the Benedictine edition of his writings. It is true that Augustine has a remark on the male and female power of the earth, *De Civit. Dei*, vii. 23, which may perhaps be what our Scholiast alludes to; but he says nothing about a masculine *tellus*, having its genitive *telli*. Speaking of Varro, who made *Tellus* a goddess, and *Tellumon* a god. He says (*loc. cit.*): "Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terræ permeet pars mundani animi, ut deum faciat Tellumonem. Non, inquit, sed una eademque terra habet geminam vim, et masculinam, quod semina producat; et femininam, quod recipiat atque enutriet: inde a vi feminina dictam esse *Tellurem*,

De pundamento ceppæ ⁊ de abipō ipe in cūcul. ipi autem inb apzamat
quod iob dicit qui ruperendit ceppam [ruper nihilum]. Et alibi dicit
Illorū mundi uirtute Dei continetur. ⁊ in psalmo qui fundat ceppam
ruper ptabilitatem suam.

mAGNI DEI UIRTUTIBUS APPENDITUR DIABUS
globus terræ et circulus abçssi maḡnæ INDITUS
suppulta dei iduma OMNIPOTENTIS ualida
columnis uelut uectibus eundem sustentantibus
promontoriis et rupibus soli[dijs] fundaminibus
uelut quibusdam bassibus firmatis immobilibus.

70

Gloss.—68. *Appenditur*.—Arctatip [kept up, sustained]. *Diabus*.—i. diuinis. Dius secundum
veteres no combad choip ann [for that which ought to be in it] 69. *Circulus*.
—i. inb abip mop in po in clannab bliged cipcuil [the great abyss, in which was implanted the
law of a circle]. *Iduma*.—i. manu, iduma ebraice, cirus grece, manus, latine. *Valida*.—i. forte. 72.
Promontoriis.—i. o paib.

a masculina *Telumonem*." *Pertractus*.—
Per tractus, C. *Istius*.—There is a gloss
under this word which is now ille-
gible; it may possibly belong to *tem-
poribus*, the last word of the next
line.

70. *Iduma*.—The Gloss tells us that
this is a Hebrew word, signifying the
hand, and identical with the Greek *ciros*,
i. e. *χείρ*, and the Latin *manus*. It is
evidently from יד, a *hand*, and seems like
a corruption of the dual ידי, as *ciros*
seems taken from the genitive *χείρως*, or
perhaps also from the plural *χείρες*. The
remarkable word *Iduma* is not found in
Du Cange, or in any of the Glossaries of
medæval Latin to which the Editor has
access; and this passage seems to be the
only instance of its use as a Latin word,
in the sense of *power*, *might*, *authority*.
It would have been wholly unintelligible
but for the gloss.

71. *Eundem*.—Over this word there is

the following curious grammatical note:
“ . . . vel : ” the first of these marks (. . .)
occurs under the word “globus,” and the
second (:) under the word “circulus,” in
line 69: the meaning therefore is, that
eundem signifies either “eundem globum”
or “eundem circulum.” In like manner
the mark (. .) occurs under *iduma*, and
also under *valida*, in line 70; showing
that *valida* is to be construed as agreeing
with *iduma*.

72. *Promontoriis*.—The Gloss upon this
word is not legible, with the exception
of the letters which have been above
given; the meaning is, therefore, obscure.
Perhaps the hiatus may be supplied by
reading, o [na por]paib, the Irish trans-
lation of *promontoriis*. *Solidis*.—The text
in the MS. has *solis*; but a coeval hand
has written *solidis* in the margin, which
is necessary both for the sense and the
metre. The letters OI have therefore
been added, within brackets, in the text.

De inferno in imis porito in corbe terræ ⁊ penit̃ eiu ⁊ loco. ipe in titul. Ipi indap̃gamaint, Ep̃uicti animam meam ex inferno [inferiori. ut in euange]lio dicitur Sepulcr̃u ep̃t̃ diuer in inferno. ⁊ alibi lca male-dicti in aeternum ignem. ⁊ alibi Uer̃m̃u eorum non morietur ⁊ ignis eiu non exsting[uitur].

NULLI uidetur dubium IN IMIS ESSE INFERNUM
 ubi habentur tenebrae uermes ac diuae bestiae 75
 ubi ignis solphorius ardens flammis edacibus
 ubi rugitus hominum pletus ac stridor dentium
 ubi gehennae gemitus terribilis et antiquus
 ubi ardor flammaticus sitis famisque horribus

* * * * *

De laude dei ab angelis in titul. Ipi im̃pno mb ap̃gamaint, acbeap̃ in Apocalip̃pi,—In circuiitu t̃p̃oni ubi reber .xxiiii. penit̃er rebent̃er in uer̃te alba ⁊ cap̃it̃ibur eorum corona aurea uiol.

SENIORUM CANTIONIBUS SEDULO TINNIENTIBUS
 tropodis sanctis milibus angelorum uernantibus 130
 quatuorque plenissimis animalibus oculis
 cum uiginti pelicibus quatuor senioribus
 coronas admittentibus agni dei sub pedibus
 laudatur tribus uicibus trinitas eternalibus.

Glossa.—74. *In imis*.—i. in profundis terræ. *Infernum*.—Infernus dicitur quia infra sit. Sicut in medio animalis cor, ita infernus in medio terræ est. 75. *Tenebrae*.—i. tenebræ dictæ sunt quia tenent umbras. 129. *Tinnientibus*.—i. ambinniget na cantana [i. they harmonize the songs]. 130. *Vernantibus*.—i. immeñoniget̃ uile [which they all used to practise (?) often]. 131. *Animalibus*.—i. euangelistis. 132. *Viginti*.—i. cum .xii. patriarchis et xii. profetis, vel cum .xii. profetis et .xii. apostolis, vel figura .iiii. euangelistarum cum .xxiiii. libris veteris legis.

74. *Dubium*.—In the margin there is this note: "Dubium quasi duvium, incertus duarum viarum." And so Isid. Hisp., "*Dubius*, incertus, quasi *duarum viarum*."—*Etymol.*, x. 77. *Infernum*.—The Gloss is from Isid. Hisp. *Etymol.*, l. xiv. c. 9: "Inferus appellatur eo quod infra sit," and, "Quomodo autem cor animalis in medio est, ita et infernus in medio terræ esse perhibetur." These words occur also in St. Jerome's *Comm. on Jon.*, i. 4.

76. *Solphorius*.—Sulphureus, C.

79. *Famisque*.—In the Irish orthography of i for e, *famisque* stands for *famesque*, "and hunger." C. reads *sitis fumusque*, a manifest mistake. A leaf of the Dublin copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* is lost after this line. It contained the stanzas O to X, inclusive, which will be found (taken from Colgan's copy of this Hymn) in the Additional Note D. It is greatly to be regretted that the MS. of the *Liber*

De uratione impiorum nolentes christum credere. ⁊ de gaudio iustorum in ciuit. Ir ꝑi imorho ind arɣamane quod dicitur in apocalipꝑi Ir ignis conuemet aduersarior. ⁊ alibi dicit apocetolur Mansiones multae sunt apud patrem, ⁊ christus dicit, In domu patris mei multae mansiones sunt.

Zelus ignis puribundus consumet aduersarios 135
 nolentes christum credere deo a patre uenisse
 nos uero euolabimus obuiam ei protinus
 et sic cum ipso erimus in diuersis ordinibus
 dignitatum pro meritis premiorum perpetuis
 permansuri in gloria a seculis in gloria. 140

Gloss.—135. *Consumet*.—i. vindicta a deo patre. *Aduersarios*.—i. veriti dei. 137. *Nos*.—i. genus humanum. *Ecolabimus*.—i. in die iudicii. *Obuiam*.—i. ma. *Protinus*.—i. in ictu oculi. 138. *Cum ipso*.—i. erunt sancti cum Christo post mortem. *In diuersis*.—i. ut dicitur redd[ere] unicuique] secundum opus suum. 140. *Gloria*.—i. in regno. *A seculis*. i. presentibus. *In gloria*.—i. infinita.

Hymnorum now preserved at the College of St. Isidore at Rome is wholly inaccessible to the Editor, as it would have doubtless supplied defects of this kind, and probably cleared up many obscurities, especially as Colgan has printed the hymn with several inaccuracies, and with an entire disregard of the Irish peculiarities of spelling.

130. *Tropodis*.—Tripodiis, C. *Vernantibus*.—*Vernare* is sometimes used in the sense of *canere*, to sing. See Du Cange, *Glossar.* in v. Perhaps this may be its signification here. The Irish gloss is obscure.

133. *Admittentibus*.—For *mittentibus*, evidently for the sake of the metre.—Apoc., iv. 10.

134. *Tribus vicibus*.—Alluding to the triple *Sanctus*.—Apoc., iv. 8.

135. *Zelus*.—The Scholium is as follows:—"De uratione [vastatione, C.] impiorum nolentes [nolentium, C.] Christum credere, et de gaudio iustorum, is the Title.

But this is the Argument: quod dicitur in Apocalipsi, *lis ignis consumet aduersarios*, et alibi dicit apostolus, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, et Christus dicit, *In domu Patris mei multae mansiones sunt*." The passage here quoted from the Apocalypse really occurs Hebr. x. 27, the scribe having apparently mistaken *Apostolus* for *Apocalypsis*. A part of the first word is illegible; it is probably *terribilis*, from the first clause of the verse. Colgan gives it thus:—"Argum. ut in Apocal. *Tribus ignibus consumet aduersarios*." But no such words occur in the Apoc. The first line of this stanza evidently contains an ancient reading: "*Zelus ignis consumet aduersarios*," which seems more immediately taken from the Greek (πυρὸς ζήλος) than "ignis æmulationis," which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, as well as of the Ante-Hieronymian version, as printed by Sabatier. The second passage quoted, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, does not occur in any

Quis potest deo placere nouissimo in tempore
 Uariatur inrigibus ueritatibus ordinibus
 Exceptis contemptoribus mundi preparentibus ipsis.

Deum patrem ingenitum celi ac terræ dominum
 Ab eodemque filium pecula ante primogenitum
 Deumque proprium sanctum uerum unum altissimum
 Inuoco ut auxilium mihi oportunitissimum
 Minimo prepetet omnium tibi deperuientium
 Quem angelorum milibus conprociabit dominus.

of the Apostolical Epistles, and is probably only a repetition of the verse quoted immediately after from St. John, xiv. 3: "*In domu Patris mei multæ mansiones sunt.*"

138. *Cum ipso*.—The allusion is to 1 Thess. iv. 17.

140. *A seculis in gloria*.—A seculis in secula, C., which reading seems more probable; the repetition of "in gloria" being a manifest blunder of transcription.

Quis potest.—The two following stanzas are in the smaller and more angular character, which has already been several times noticed. C. omits *Deo*. The Pre-

face tells us that this triplet is to be sung between each "Capitulum" of the Hymn. See p. 223.

Novissimo.—Over this word there is the gloss, ".i. in fine mundi," with some other words now illegible.

Primogenitum.—A gloss over this word is "vel progenitum;" but this, as well as the reading of the text, is inconsistent with the metre. C. reads *genitum*.

Angelorum.—There is a gloss over this word which is almost illegible. All that can be read with any certainty is as follows:—"i. is angeli in celo."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Preface to the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, which, as usual, is in a mixture of Latin and Irish:—

The Place^a of this Hymn was Hí^b. The Time^c was that of Aedán son of Gabran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ainmire, King of Erin. But Mauritius or Focas was then King of the Romans. The Person^d was Columcille of the noble race of the Scots. He is called Columba, from the text *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut Columbae*. The Cause^e was because he was desirous of praising God. For seven years he was searching out this Hymn in the Black Cell^f without light, i. e. beseeching forgiveness for the battle of Cuil Dremne which he had gained^g over Diarmait son of Cerball^h, and the other battles that were gained on his account. Vel ut alii dicunt, it was composed extemporaneously; viz.—On a certain day Columcille was in Hí, and no one was with him except Boithin, and they had no food except a sieve full of oats. Then said Columcille to Boithin, “Illustrious guests are coming to us to-day,

^a *The Place*.—i. e. where it was composed.

^b *Hí*.—Now called Iona: a curious mistake, as Dr. Reeves has shown, for *Iowa* (the adjective formed from Hí, or I, its ancient name), properly *Insula Iowa*: Reeves’ *Adamnan*, Add. Note D, p. 258.

^c *The Time*.—Our author fixes the date by the reigns of the king of Scotland, Aedan, son of Gabran (A. D. 574–606; O’Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 473); the king of Ireland, Aed, son of Ainmire (A. D. 572–599; *ibid.* p. 431); and the Roman emperors, Maurice (A. D. 582–601) and Phocas (A. D. 602 *sq.*). On the chronology of these last the Scholiast speaks doubtfully: “Mauritius or Focas.” St. Columbkille died A. D. 597, before Phocas came to the throne.

^d *Person*.—i. e. the author of the Hymn. See the genealogy of St. Columba, Reeves’ *Adamnan*, p. 342 (Geneal. Table).

^e *Cause*.—i. e. the occasion on which he composed the Hymn.

^f *Black Cell*.—In *Nigra Cellula*, called in Irish *Duibh-regles*. This was a name of St. Columba’s church in Derry in Ireland, Reeves, *ib.* p. 277, *Ord. Mem. of Templemore*, p. 241, and the Preface to this Hymn in the *Leabhar Breacc* has so interpreted it. See p. 223.

^g *Gained*.—Lit. “broken.” For an account of the battle of Cuil-Dreimne, see Reeves, *ib.* p. 247 *sq.*

^h *Diarmait son of Cerball*.—King of Ireland, A. D. 544–565. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 67, 68, notes.

O Boithin" (namely, the people of Gregory¹, who came with presents to him), and he said to Boithin, "Remain thou here ministering to the guests, whilst I go to the mill." He took upon him his burden from off a certain stone that was in the Recles², Blathnat³ was its name, and it exists still; and it is upon it that division is made in the refectory⁴. However his burden was heavy to him, so that he made this Hymn in alphabetical order, from that place until he arrived at the mill, i. e. *Adjutor laborantium*⁵, etc., and when he cast the first charge⁶ into the mill, it was then he began the first chapter; and it was at the same time that the grinding of the sack and the composition of the Hymn were finished. And it was extemporaneously it was made thus. In the year five hundred and sixty-five after the birth of Christ, Columbcille came to Hi, as Bede⁷ says: "In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 565, at which time Justinus minor, after Justinian, received the government of the Roman Empire, there came to Britain, from Ireland, a presbyter and abbot, illustrious by the habit and life of a monk, by name Columbus⁸, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts⁹". Now Brudi, son of Melcho, was then king of the Picts, and he it was that granted¹⁰ Hi to Columbus, where Columbus was buried, after he had been there seventy-six years, and thirty-three after he had gone to Britain to preach.

Now this Hymn was brought to Gregory to the East, in return for the gifts which were brought from him, viz., the Cross¹¹, i. e. the Mórgeimm¹² [great gem] was its name; and the Hymns of the Week¹³. But they interchanged¹⁴ the Hymns. Three chapters were put into it, which Gregory made¹⁵, viz., *Hic sublatu*, and

¹ Gregory.—Meaning Gregory I., who became Pope A. D. 590. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 319, 323.

² The Recles.—The abbey church of Hi: Reeves, *ib.* p. 276.

³ Blathnat.—The Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc (see p. 223) calls this stone *Moel-blatha*. Reeves, *ib.* p. 330.

⁴ Refectory.—*Ῥρομεισις*, Dinner house: *Domus prandii*.

⁵ *Adjutor laborantium*.—This seems to imply that St. Columba on this occasion, whilst carrying his burden to the mill, composed a hymn beginning *Adjutor laborantium* (which does not appear to be now extant); and that the hymn *Altus prosator* was composed during the grinding of the corn. Or are we to understand that the *Altus* was called *Adjutor laborantium*?

⁶ Charge.—*Ῥοτα*. A living word to this day in Munster, to denote the feed or handful given from time to time to a hand-mill.

⁷ Bede.—*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 4.

⁸ Columbus.—By this form of the name he is frequently called in Scotland to this day. And it is the correct Latinization of the old Irish Colomb gen. Columb (Lib. Ardmach.), a masc. *a*-stem.

⁹ Picts.—Here the extract from Bede ends; but

the remainder of the passage quoted in the Preface, and which is in Latin, is abridged from Bede, although not in his exact words.

¹⁰ Granted.—"Immolavit." See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 435.

¹¹ The Cross.—See O'Donnell, *Vit. S. Columb.* lib. ii. c. 20 (Colg., *Triad. Thaum.* p. 412). It would seem that this was an altar cross, decorated with gems, &c. It seems to have been preserved in O'Donnell's time (1532) in Tory Island, but is not now known to exist.—Reeves, *ibid.* p. 319.

¹² Mórgeimm.—See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 318, 319.

¹³ Hymns of the Week.—i. e. a book containing hymns for every day of the week.—Reeves, *ibid.* Could this have been a copy of the celebrated *Antiphonary* of St. Gregory, still known by his name? See the Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc, p. 223, *infra*.

¹⁴ They interchanged.—i. e. the messengers who brought the Hymn to Pope Gregory substituted stanzas of Gregory's composition instead of the original stanzas of the Hymn. The Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, and that given by Colgan, represent this as having been done to test the miraculous powers of St. Gregory. The story, as given in the text, is not so intelligible, and there has probably

Orbem, and *Vagatur*. Now when they began reading the Hymn to Gregory, the Angels of God came, and they stood until that chapter was come to; Gregory also stood at that part until that time. But when that was passed, the angels sat down; then Gregory sat down, and so the Hymn was finished in that manner. Gregory then demanded from them^a their confession, for he knew that it was they who had interchanged [the hymns]. And they acknowledged that it was they, and they were forgiven for it. And they said^b that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures. And this criticism reached Columcille, and that was the cause of his composing [the Hymn] *In Te Christe*.

It is in alphabetical order, after the manner of the Hebrews^c. It is out of the Catholic Faith the foundation of this chapter^d was taken, i. e. belief in Unity, with confession of Trinity. And it was made in rhythm; and there are two varieties^e of that, viz., *Artificialis* and *vulgaris*. "*Artificialis*," where there are feet of equal time and equal division, with an equality in *arsis* and *thesis*^f, and so that the subsequent comes into the place of the preceding in the resolution. "*Vulgaris*," where there is a correspondence in syllables, and in every verse and half verse^g, and it is that which is here.

Now there are six lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line, except that in the first chapter there are seven lines, because in it is the Praise of God; for that odd number is suitable compared with the other chapters, because of the inequality of His creatures^h; but the number six is in the creatures, because they were made in six days. There ought to be a Title and an Argument before every chapter.

been some error of transcription. See O'Donnell, *loc. cit.* c. 21.

^a *Gregory made*.—The other account (see Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 473, and the Preface in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 224) states that the messengers omitted three chapters of St. Columba's hymn, and substituted three of their own composition.

^b *Reading*.—Literally of *showing*; i. e. submitting the hymn to him for his approval; *καίρpenca*, gen. sing. of *καίρpenab*.

^c *In that manner*.—The meaning is explained by other versions of this Preface. So long as the messengers read the genuine composition of St. Columba, the Angels and the Pope remained *standing*, the posture of reverence; when the readers came to the spurious stanzas, the Angels sat down, and the Pope also sat. In Colgan's version of the story, the Angels are represented as being visible to Gregory during the recitation of the genuine parts of the hymn only, and the Pope stood in reverence to them. But when they vanished at the repetition of the spurious stanzas, the Pope sat down. The Angels of course were visible to Gregory alone. "In this manner" the hymn was finished; the Pope standing during the portions of it that were really

written by Columba, and sitting down when the substituted stanzas were recited.

^a *From them*.—i. e. from the messengers.

^b *They said*.—Colgan's version and the Preface in the *Leabhar Breac* represent this as having been said by Gregory, as his judgment upon the Hymn. But O'Donnell omits the circumstance altogether.

^c *Of the Hebrews*.—i. e. after the manner of the alphabetical Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.

^d *This chapter*.—i. e. of the first chapter of the Hymn.

^e *Two varieties*.—*Ἐρῶν*, a division, or variety.

^f *Arsis and thesis*.—"Ἀρσις and Θέσις." "*Arsis* est vocis elevatio, id est, initium; *Thesis*, vocis positio, hoc est, finis."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.* lib. iii. c. 20.

^g *Half verse*.—This seems to mean that there is assonance or rhyme in the middle of every line: as, *vetustus*, *ingenitus*; *origine*, *crepidine*; *secula*, *infinita*, &c. See the corresponding passage in the Preface in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 225, *infra*.

^h *Of His creatures*.—i. e. as compared with Him. The first stanza relating to God, and the remainder to His creatures, it was fit that the first should consist of a greater number of lines.

Now the proper manner of singing this Hymn is, that *Quis potest Deo*¹ be sung between every two chapters: and it is thus that its grace shall be [upon him that sings it], because it was so it was sung at first. Now there are many graces upon this Hymn, viz., Angels present whilst it is sung; the Devil shall not know the path of him who sings it every day; and neither shall his enemies perceive him in the day on which he sings it; and, moreover, there shall be no strife in the house in which it is frequently sung. It protects against every kind of death, except death on the pillow²; and there shall be neither hunger nor nakedness in the place where it is frequently sung: et alia multa³ sunt.

The Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, fol. 109 a, differs in some particulars from the foregoing. It is as follows, with a literal translation:

Altur pproetop. Columcille fecit hunc cmmum Tpmocat per septem annor in cellula ngra .i. in dñbpecter mDoipe Cholumcille. no ip cuhobund cena dopónab ut alfi dicunt .i. Intan noboi Columcille in hñ a oenup uet doechin na fuppad namd. IS and epa popaillygeob do Columcille oerib do chibecht chuci .i. Moppre-piur de muntop Dpigoip tancacop cuice-pium ó Rom conarcabair leo do .i. in Mórgeimm Columcille. .i. epopp epribe mofu, 7 immund na pechtmaine, 7 immund ceó nóbde ipmtechtman 7 alia dona. Roipapaz epa Columcille do doechin cib do biub boi ipm choitcend. Ata, ol boechin, epiachap copoi ann. Fpichailpiu na hageou a doechin, ol Columcille, condechabra don mülend. Iapm gebib epa Columcille fap in mboile don óloich fil ipm ppoimiciz in hñ, 7 ire a haimm na clochi pin, Moelblacha, 7 fonar fondebab fop caó mbiub doberap fopri. Ip iaprin oc dul do Columcille don mulend ip and dopigne in imunn becpo .i. Abiucop laborancium. 7 ip iapnupb apgictech ata.

Intan epa dopat Columcille in cécpoba

Altus prosetor. Columcille fecit hunc hymnum Trinitati per septem annos in cellula nigra, i. in the Black Reclis in Derry of Columcille, or as others say, it was composed extemporaneously¹, viz., at the time when Columcille was at Hy alone. Boethin only excepted. And it was then revealed to Columcille that guests were coming to him, viz., seven of the people of Gregory who came to him from Rome with gifts for him, viz., the Mórgeimm² [great gem] of Columcille, that is, a cross, extant this day; and the Hymn of the week, and a hymn for every night of the week, and other gifts. Then Columcille asked Boethin how much food there was in the kitchen: "There is," said Boethin, "a sieve of oats there." "Attend thou to the strangers, O Boethin," said Columcille, "whilst I go to the mill." After this Columcille took upon him the sack from the stone that is in the refectory in Hy, and the name of that stone is Moelblatha, and luck was left upon all food that is laid upon it. It was after that, when Columcille was going to the mill, that he composed this little hymn, i.e. *Adjutor laborantium*³; and it is in alphabetical order it is.

When Columcille had put the first feed into the

¹ *Quis potest Deo*.—This antiphon occurs at the end of the Hymn. See p. 219, *supra*.

² *On the pillow*.—i.e. it protects from all kinds of violent death, but not from ordinary or natural death. Cf. Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 37, 44.

³ *Alia multa*.—i.e. there are many other privileges, *alia multa gratia*, attached to the singing of

this Hymn.

¹ *Extemporaneously*.—There are here two accounts: one, that this Hymn occupied its author seven years of study; the other, that it was composed extemporaneously. See above, p. 220.

² *Mórgeimm*.—See above, p. 221.

³ *Laborantium*.—See above, p. 221, note^a.

im bel in mulind ip and dochuaib hi cend
ind Aleur, 7 ip imalle porcaiz incimon do
benum ocup intarpbur do bleich; 7 nī epia
copab ocputam doponab, reb per ɣraciam
Domini.

In tempore Aedán mic Gabran nōg Al-
ban, 7 Aeda mic Ainmirech nōg Epenn, 7
Falcup dīn ba nī Rómān mēanpīm.

Causa, quia voluit beum laudare .i. do
cūindib dilguda dona epī catchaib dopoīne
mEipīnn .i. Cach Cūile Rachin in Dal Araide
etappu 7 Comgall [bennchuir] 1 copnam
chille .i. Rorr copachair, 7 cach belair
fēba appab Chluana hīpāip' 7 cach Cuile
Dremne 1 connacht, 7 ba do Diarmait mac
Cenbaill dopata aīpīr. Duccup ert ad ɣri-
gorium, et supaci pūnt minīpēpī epia capī-
cula de re, .i. hic publatup 7 Opbein infpa,
7 Chpīrco de coelip, 7 epia capicula ppo eip
inrepuerunt, 7 minīpēpīr cantantibur ɣm-
num ɣriɣorio, ɣriɣoriup hic suppexit,
donec audīpēt aliena capicula epia. Et
icēpum rebic donec pppopia. Suppexit
icēpum 7 dīxīt illīp confītemīni quob eɣīp-
tīp. Illī confēpēpēpūnt, 7 dīxīt illīp cantate
īɣitup ɣmnum pecundum opbīnem a puo
auctopē dīctum, 7 illī cantauēpūnt, 7 ille
popt laudauit laudēp. Sed dīxīt, minup
quam debuit Deup memorapī in eo memo-
racup ert. Ppēpēnter angelī pēmpēp pūē-
pūnt quādo cantatup, pīc uīdīt ɣriɣoriup
angelop. Multe pūnt ɣpācie ɣmī hūīp.
Quīpquīp eum cantauēpīc pēpūēntēp
nunquam ab pēpēpēcūōnem inīmicopum 7

mouth of the mill, it was then that he began the
Altus; and it was at one and the same time that
the hymn was composed, and the grinding of the
corn completed; and it was not the result of
study it was composed, *sed per gratiam Domini*.

[It was composed] in the time of Aedan son of
Gabhran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ain-
mire, King of Erin, and Falcus [Phocas] was the
King of the Romans at that time.

The Cause was because he was desirous of prais-
ing God, i. e. to ask forgiveness for the three battles
which he had caused in Erin, viz., the battle of Cuil
Rathain [Coleraine] in Dal Araide, between him and
Comgall [of Bennchor] contending for a church, viz.,
Ross Torathair; and the battle of Belach-feda, of
the weir of Clonard; and the battle of Cul Dremne
in Connacht; and it was against Diarmait Mac Cer-
baill he fought them both*. Ductus^p est ad Gre-
gorium, et furati sunt ministri^q tria capitula de se,
viz., *Hic sublatup, et Orbem infra, et Christo^r de
calis*. Et tria capitula pro eis inseruerunt, et minis-
tris cantantibus ymnum Grigorio, Grigorius hic
surrexit, donec audiret aliena capitula tria; et ite-
rum sedit donec propria. Surrexit iterum, et dixit
illis Confitemini quod egistis; illi confesserunt, et
dixit illis Cantate igitur ymnum secundum ordinem
a suo auctore dictum; et illi cantaverunt, et ille
post laudavit laudes. Sed dixit, Minus^r quam de-
buit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est. Presentes
Angeli semper fuerunt quando cantatur; sic vidit
Gregorius angelos. Multae sunt gratiae hymni hujus.
Quisquis eum cantaverit frequenter nunquam ad
persecutionem inimicorum et demonum eveniet ei
quod timet pervenire; et nesciet diabolus mortem
ejus. Et liberet ab omni morte absque pretiosa^t, et

* Both.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 253-4.

^p Ductus.—i. e. Hymnus ductus est. See above,
p. 221.

^q Ministri.—i. e. those who brought the Hymn
to Gregory.

^r Christo.—In the Preface (Book of Hymns, see
p. 221, *supra*), and also in Colgan's Preface,
the third stanza, said to have been omitted by St.
Columba's messengers, was *Vagatur ex climatico*.

* Minus.—This is the same objection which is
stated above (p. 222), and in Colgan's Preface (see
p. 227, *infra*), that the author had not been suffi-
ciently earnest in the praise of the Trinity.

^t Pretiosa.—Over this word is the gloss, .i. bap-
pe hadapit, "i. e. death on the pillow" (see above,
p. 223). Is there an allusion here to the text,
"Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum
ejus," the meaning of "absque pretiosa" being "ex-

demonum eueniet ei quod timeat peruenire, et perueniet diabulus mortem eius. Et liberet ab omni morte abique preterita, et non erit in inferno post diem iudicii, etiam mala multa egerit, et habebit divitias multas, et longitudinem seculi. There is alphabetical order in this hymn after the manner of the Hebrews*. The number of letters in the alphabet is the number of chapters that is in this hymn. It is not, however, at the sides of their chapters that the Hebrews place their letters, but each letter is over its chapter to the end of the hymn. And the reason of that is, that they have a meaning in all their letters [leg. in omnibus literis eorum], and this is the meaning that runs through the chapters. And this is the reason why the Hebrews have followed the order of their own alphabet (i. xxii. litteræ apud Hebræos), because there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament†. But the reason why the Greeks have twenty-four letters is, because there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and four Gospels. And the reason why the Romans have three-and-twenty letters is, that there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and the Trinity.

Uia nichilum una dononab incommunia, et acat bi enail ponnidib .i. apci- picalis et uulgaris. apci- picalis erit ubi pount pedes cum temporibus æquos et æqua diuisione et cum æquo pondere, .i. apci- picalis, et ubi erit subseque- nter pncebente in uia ppolucionis. Ir hi imorpo in uulgaris du immbi in pncepai

non erit in inferno post diem iudicii, etiamsi mala multa egerit, et habebit divitias multas, et longitudinem seculi. There is alphabetical order in this hymn after the manner of the Hebrews*. The number of letters in the alphabet is the number of chapters that is in this hymn. It is not, however, at the sides of their chapters that the Hebrews place their letters, but each letter is over its chapter to the end of the hymn. And the reason of that is, that they have a meaning in all their letters [leg. in omnibus literis eorum], and this is the meaning that runs through the chapters. And this is the reason why the Hebrews have followed the order of their own alphabet (i. xxii. litteræ apud Hebræos), because there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament†. But the reason why the Greeks have twenty-four letters is, because there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and four Gospels. And the reason why the Romans have three-and-twenty letters is, that there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and the Trinity.

Now this Hymn is composed in Rhythm, of which there are two kinds, *Artificialis* and *Vulgaris*. The *Artificialis* is where the feet are made with equal times, and equal division, and with equal weight, viz., *arsis* and *thesis*; and where the subsequent is for the precedent in the right of resolution. And this is the *Vulgaris*, where there is correspondence of syllables, in quatrains and half quatrains; and

cept that death, which is precious in the sight of the Lord" (Ps. cxvi. 15), viz., Martyrdom.

* *Hebrews*.—See above, p. 222, note c.

† *Over its chapter*.—The allusion is evidently to Ps. cxviii. (*Heb.* cxix.), where the acrostical or alphabetical order is not in the verses, but in stanzas of eight verses; and the Latin MSS. of the Bible usually write the name of the Hebrew letter, ALEPH, BETH, &c., over each stanza. In like manner, the acrostical letter in the present Hymn belongs to the stanza of six verses, but, as our scholiast remarks, is written, not over, but at the side of each stanza.

* *A meaning*.—i. e. the Hebrew letters have each a particular signification: *Aleph* is an ox; *Beth*, a house; *Gimel*, a camel, &c.; and the stanzas commencing with these letters have a meaning corresponding to the signification of the letters. It would be very difficult to justify this theory by actual analysis of the Psalm.

† *Old Testament*.—The Irish is petaplaicc, sometimes written betaplaicc and petaplaicc, which is not a Celtic word, but probably a corruption of the Latin *vetus lex*; or rather, perhaps, of the older *base* of those words.

pillab, .i. cethrumchan, 7 lechnanb; ocup
ireb rin pil rin immun. Sex liniae imorpo
in unoquoque capitulo, excepto primo ca-
pitulo; ocup re pillab .x. in cad line. 7
.iii. linia in primo capitulo. Cubab epa
renardacht do beich ipa cairtelaib hi
pail inuoin donbulib porporbaichea epa
renar. Cubab imorpo reptinardacht
do beich rin cairtcul ap in fáchra. .i.
quod narrat de deo, quod deus impar erit
creaturus rui. uel .vii. gnabur ecclesiae
rignificat, uel quod reptenariur unuer-
sitatem rignificat. uel .iii. dona rporitur
pancti rignificat.

Robe epa bligeb gabala mb muinreo co
rogabtha quip potert, etip cad dá cairp-
cul be. Ocup ip be rin nobiab a pach fair,
ap ip amlab pocet artur. 77.

this is what is in this Hymn. Now there are six
lines in every *Capitulum*, except the first *Capitu-
lum*, and sixteen syllables in every line; and seven
lines in the first *capitulum*. It is fit that there
should be six lines in which is narrated all that was
finished in six days. And it is fit that there should
be seven lines in that [first] chapter, for this reason,
because it tells of God, for God is not comparable to
His creatures; or it signifies the seven grades of the
Church; or that the number seven denotes univer-
sality; or it signifies the seven gifts of the Holy
Ghost.

And the rule for singing this hymn is, that *Quis
potest* be sung between every two chapters of it.
And it is thus that one may have the benefit of it,
for it was thus it was first sung, etc.

On the lower margin of the page of the *Leabhar Breacc*, in which the foregoing
Preface occurs, there is the following quatrain, in a hand coeval with the MS.:—

Geib in altur cobarecht.
Na dam cept do deman bur.
Nirpíl galap rin bich.
Na cich na cuirpe por cul.,
Sing the Altus seven times,
Yield not thy right to the hard demon.
There is no disease in the world,
No difficulty that it will not banish*.

The following is Colgan's abridged translation of the Preface given in his MS.,
which is supposed to be the same that is now preserved in the College of S. Isidore at
Rome:—

Locus, in quo hic Hymnus compositus erat, est Insula Hiensis. Author S. Columba Kille de nobili genere
Scotorum. Tempore Aidi filij Anmirij, Hiberniae Regis, et Aidani filij Gaurani, Regis Albaniae, seu Scotiae
Albiensis; fuit compositus. Causa motiva fuit, tùm vt Deus in suis operibus laudetur, tùm ad deprecand-
dam veniam propter tria praelia inter Hiberniae Principes conserta, quibus adoriundis S. Columba causam
præbuit. Erant hæc, praelium de *Cuilrathen*, praelium de *Cuileadha*, et praelium de *Cuile-dreimæ*. Ferunt
nonnulli S. Columbam septem annis materiam hujus Hymni meditatam, antequàm ipsum Opusculum com-
posuerit. Alii verò tradunt ipsum ex tempore illud composuisse tali occasione. Cùm S. Columba et
S. Baitheneus die quadam in Insula Hiensi ab alijs sequestrati agerent; S. Columba ad Baithenum ait;

* *Hard*.—Obdurate, tyrannical, hard-hearted.

* *Banish*.—Literally, put behind.

Fili supervenient hodie nobiles et peregrini hospites à Gregorio Pontifice Summo cum gratia donarij ad nos missi. Æquum ergo est tantis hospitibus de decente refectione provideatur. Et cum postea vir Sanctus intelligeret nihil domi reperiri, quo villo modo etiam minùs decenter, quàm par erat, possent refici, præter vnam frumenti mensuram; tunc ipse cucurrit festinus ad vicinum molendinum: et antequàm molendinum injecta grana contriverat, vel in farinam resolverat, ipse Hymnum absolvit. Ordine Alphabetico Hymnus hic compositus est. Quælibet ejus strophæ (excepta prima, quæ septem constat) sex versiculis, seu lineis constat; et singulæ lineæ sedecim syllabis. Opusculum hoc iam absolutum, fuit ab authore per quosdam discipulos præsentatum et oblatum Gregorio Magno Pontifici in recognitionem pretiosissimi donarii (nempe Sanctissimæ Crucis, quæ *Mor-gheam*, id est Magna, seu Pretiosa gemma, vocatur) quod idem Sanctissimus Pontifex ante S. Columbæ per suos legatos miserat. Pro tribus autem capitulis, seu strophis ejusdem Opusculi, à S. Columba compositis; qui incipiunt; *Hic sublatus è medio*, &c. *Orbem infra ut legimus*, &c. *Vagatur ex climatico*, &c. discipuli ejus legati sustituerunt tres alios à se compositos, vel animo expiscandi summè tunc prædicatam S. Pontificis virtutem et sanctimoniam; vel reverà dispositione occulta Divini Numinis volentis vtriusque Sancti eximiam virtutem reddere orbi notiozem. Cùm enim Hymnus ille coràm Gregorio recitaretur, Angeli Dei recitantes stipabant: quibus visis Pontifex Sanctus è sede assurgens, in pedes se erexit: et sic stans venerabundus perstitit, donec ad supposititias strophas perventum esset: quibus legi coeptis Angeli recedebant, ac illis recedentibus Pontifex illicò in sede subedit. Ac postquàm jam tertio alternatis vicibus Pontifex ad lectionem supposititiorum capitulorum resedisset, ac ad genuinorum resumptionem assurrexisset; tandem finitâ Hymni lectione Gregorius Hymnum depravatam esse in spiritu recognoscens, missos nuncios adiurat, quatenus fateantur, an ipsi vel alij aliqua in Hymno immutaverint. Illi religione perculsi, suam culpam, miraculo proditam, fatentur, veniamque supplices deprecantur, ac obtinent à Clementi Pontifice, qui et Opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parciùs in eo de Trinitate disseruerit, quàm optaret. Et hæc fuit occasio, ob quam S. Columba-composuerit alium subsequentem Hymnum, qui incipit; *In te Christe credentium* &c. Plures piè creduntur gratiæ et virtutes huic Hymno divinitùs concessæ. Prima, quod piè eum recitantes, nec à demone sint infestandi, nec ab hoste vulnerandi, eo die quo eum recitaverint. Secunda, quod à litibus et discordijs domus illa sit immunis in qua consueverit recitari. Tertia, quod locus in quo consueverit recitari, à fame et inopia sit præservandus. Quarta, quod quotidie eum recitans, non alià quàm naturali et placida morte sit interiturus, &c.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

O'Donnell, in his Life of St. Columba, as published in a Latin abridgment by Colgan, has also given the Legend relating to the occasion of composing the Altus, in a form evidently taken from some copy of the Book of Hymns. As Colgan's work is very scarce, and as this narrative shows how O'Donnell understood some passages of the Prefaces, it may be well to insert his version of the story here:—

Sanctus Gregorius Papa cùm die quadam Romæ in sua Ecclesia sacrosancto interesset Missæ sacrificio, vidit crucem ligneam Angelorum manibus super altare collocari: quam quidam ex adstantibus Clericis dùm inde levare aut aliò transferre niterentur, nequaquam loco dimovere potuerunt. Cunctis eam ob rem admiratione attonitis, summus ipse Pontifex accessit, crucemque continuò levans; Hæc, inquit, palàm ad adstantes, nec mihi, nec cuiquam vestrum; sed cuidam Dei servo, cui nomen Columba, extremum orbem incolenti, à Deo est destinata! Quare accersitos quosdam Clericos jubet ut se itineri accingant, et demissum cælitis donum præmemorato Christo famulo in Hy insulam perferant. Ijs profectis, et jam Hiensi cœnobio vicinis S. Columba de eorum adventu et suscepti itineris causa ab Angelo admonitus; hac nocte, inquit ad suos, venerabiles ad nos hospites Gregorij Papæ nuntij divertent: curate igitur ut ijs bene sit de cœna provisum.

Paulò post cùm illi advenissent, nihilque in Monasterio repertum, quod tantis hospitibus dignum erat apponi, præter unum subcineritium panem, et poculum unum vini in usum sacrificij reservatum; vir Sanctus eam ob rem verecundatus, illa ipsa adferri iussa in Christi nomine benedixit, et iam hospitibus apposita, Christo annuente sic multiplicavit, ut hospitibus totique familiæ reficiendis abundè suffecerint. Porro nuntii Pontificis commissum donum viro Sancto consignarunt; estque illud celebre monumentum quod in Torachia occidua Hiberniæ insula (cujus supra mentio sæpiùs facta est) in memoriam Columbæ asseruatam Crux magna vulgò appellatur.

Post hæc S. Columba tres à suis discipulis Romam ablegavit, qui rythmum quem in Sanctissimæ Trinitatis laudem ipse composuerat paucis verbis multa obstrusiora sacræ scripturæ mysteria complexus, Sancto Gregorio Magno præsentarent. Nuntii ergò Romam perlati priusquam creditam opellam Pontifici porrexerant, tria ex eius medio capitula, substitutis totidem, quæ ipsi fuerant commenti, temerè expunxerunt, experimentum scilicet ea re facturi an Gregorius cujus tùm fama sanctitatis increbuerat, supposititia metra à reliquis discerneret; vel an pari laudi utraque commendaret. Rythmum itaque sic interpolatum cum Sancto Antistiti præsentassent, et coràm eo, eique assistente purpuratorum corona iussi legere cœpissent, Magnus Pontifex se in pedes erexit, sicque venerabundus perstitit, donec ad apochripa illa capitula perventum erat: quibus legi ceptis, continuo resedit; sed iam perlectis iterato surgens, reliqua stans excepit. Ad hæc admirati quidam præsentium optimatam, cùm insuetæ et aliquantisper interruptæ venerationis causam sciscitarentur; respondit Pontifex se ideò, dùm Rythmi initium perlegeretur, stetisse, quod intereà Angelos Sanctos stipasse legentium latera conspexisset; postea verò subsedis, quòd boni Genii aliquantisper disparuissent; iisque iterum se venerabundum surrexisse, et in eo situ in finem perseverasse. Ad hæc audita nuntii simul admiratione attoniti, simul etiam religione perculsi, suam imposturam, certam scilicet interruptæ Angelorum præsentis causam humiliter fassi, temeritatis veniam obtinuerunt à Clementi Pontifice; qui et oblatum rythmum magnopere laudavit, et authorem Apostolicæ sedis indultis auctum, suo nomine salutari mandavit. — *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412.

NOTE B.

The Gloss in the Leabhar Breacc.

As the various readings of the text, or rather fragment of the text, of this Hymn, preserved in the *Leabhar Breacc**, have been already fully given in the notes, it will only be necessary to publish here the interlinear Gloss which occurs in that MS. It is quite different from the Gloss in the *Liber Hymnorum*, although in some places they coincide, as if taken from some common source. It is necessary to state that this fragment contains only the stanzas or "Capitula" A to H, inclusive. The numbers refer to the lines of the Hymn.

1. *Altus*^b. bñb ðna altur ⁊ almur hic flumnd huaple, et ideo ponitur hic, qñ flumndb huaple acur ipse do ut cicepo dicat altum mare et altum celum. Almur imorpo

* *Leabhar Breacc*.—"Speckled Book," in Old Irish leabap brecc. The adjective *Breacc* has generally hitherto been spelt *Breac*, incorrectly, however; the ancient orthography was *brecc*, as is

shown by the corresponding word in Welsh, viz., *brych*, where the *ch* has certainly arisen from the combination *cc*, as in *iechnit* (sanitas), Old Irish *icc*; *bichan* (parvus), O. Ir. *becc*; *pechaut*

huaple tantum copneir. ["Now altus and almus both denote nobility: and therefore it (viz. *altus*) is put here, for it denotes high and low, as Cicero says, *Altum mare, et altum cœlum*. *Almus* signifies nobleness only."]

Prosetor^c. In the margin is this note, "Seminator, vitis; sertor, agri; sator, horti; sero, sevi, statum [*leg. satum*]; uminor, idem; sator; prosero, vi, prositatum; incop condem [the *tor* makes] prosetor."

Vetustus^d. .i. qui sperit [*qm. fuerat*] ante tempora.

Dierum. dies .i. a dividendo lucem a tenebris.

2. *Absque origine*. .i. Deus Pater origine erat prius in tempore.

Primordi. .i. quando in forma venit, vel materia uniuscuiusque rei in massa [*leg. massa*].

Crepidine^e. .i. cen poccend [without end], an pocgabap crepido hio in cōpo cpih no cen-pocha [for crepido is sometimes found to signify end or termination], ut in lege dicitur s[acerdos decurrere faciet] sanguinem ad crepidinem altaris, id est, ad fundamentum [Lev. i. 15].

3. *Est et erit*^f. .i. non proprie dicitur de deo erat, vel erit, sed tantum est, quia presens est; sed elementa erant ante, quia ut augustinus ait erant in notitia dei et non erant sua natura.

4. *Cui est*^g. .i. nemo potest esse est.

Christus. .i. misias in ebreo, christus in greco, unctus in latino.

5. *Coeternus*^h. .i. ut dicitur genuit verbum omni modo simile sibi qua locutio patris est filius ut dicit dauid semel locutus est [Pa. lxi. 12] id est filium unum genuit.

6. *Non tris*. .i. si dicamus tris personas unum esse deum confitemur, si unum deum confitemur tris personas credimus, .i. ut dicit hironimusⁱ si unus sol est in integra cum luce et calore, ita est sol deus pater, lux est filius, calor est spiritus sanctus.

8. *Creavit*. Deus .i. altus prosetor.

Angelos. .i. angelus grece. maloch, ebreica. nuntius, latine.

9. *Sedium*. .i. tronum [*read* thronorum].

10. *Uti*. .i. prout.

Bonitas. .i. Dei benevolentia. *Otiosa*. .i. beairh no bfm̃m̃. .i. cen maine beipniub [lazy or idle, i. e. not to bestow wealth].

11. *Trinitatis*. .i. trinitas quasi trina unitas.

(peccat-um), O. Ir. peccab; *mynych* (frequens), O. Ir. menicc; and the other examples given by Zeuss, *Gramm. Celtica*, i. 173.

^b *Altus*.—This is an attempt to explain why *altus*, not *almus*, is used in the Hymn: *altus* having a more extensive signification.

^c *Prosetor*.—This note is intended to give the etymology of *Prosator*. It explains that we use *seminator*, of a vine; *sertor*, of land; and *sator*, of a garden. *Uminor* ought probably to be *seminor*. There is evidently some corruption; but the meaning seems to be that, as from *sero*, *sevi*, *satum*, comes *sator*, so also from *prosero*, *prosevi*, *prosatum*, we have the noun in *tor*, "*prosator*."

^d *Vetustus*.—The word *sperit* in this Gloss seems a mistake. Perhaps we should read *fuit*, or *fuerat*.

^e *Crepidine*.—See the note on this word, p. 206, *supra*.

^f *Est et erit*.—The Editor has been unable to find the words here quoted from St. Augustine.

^g *Cui est*.—The reference is probably to Exod. iii. 14, "Nemo potest esse x̃r̃s."

^h *Coeternus*.—The interpretation here given to the words, "semel locutus est," will be found in St. Augustine; *Enarr.* in Pa. lxi. 12, "Apud se semel Deus locutus est, quia unum Verbum genuit Deus."

ⁱ *Hironimus*.—The Editor has not found this passage in St. Jerome's works.

Largiatatis. 1. արդ քրլաբար յոօս ծա բրա ծնն [because God was munificent to his creatures].

12. *Haberet*. Ut.

Celestia. .i. misterio, vel elimenta.

Privelegia. [*sic*] .i. nomias no beppocugub angil rech na búli archena [the great dignity or illustriousness of angels above all the other creatures].

13. *Magnopere*. .1. $\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu$ [eg. $\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu$, which is an exact translation of *magnopere*].

Fatimini. .i. ondſ ar peteon [from the word *feteor* (i. e. *fateor* or *fator*)].

14. *Celi*. i. Celum a celsitudine sua nomen rectissime accepit.

Apice. Apicem dicit. .i. culmen regni aut summitatem.

15. *Venustate*. i. quasi honorabilitate. *Speciminis*, i. na delbı, no in ʒnée [of the countenance, or outward appearance].

Lucifer. i. lucem ferens.

Formaverat. i. deus.

16. *Apostataeque*. .i. nanbipceimnech [the fallen ones] apostata grece: reccesor a fide vel viles [read viles] interpretatur.

Lugubri. .i. lugubri. i. flebili. i. immoribunda dolebrim uolebrim ꝛ dona duilib ancena uapꝛ nomell tairmtect angelorum iac [.i. in great melancholy to themselves, and to other creatures also, because the transgression of the angels deceived them].

18. *Cenodoxiae*. i. ceno, uanae, doxia grece gloria interpretatur. .i. in βερματι ρήρ [of the perpetual oblivion], a diabulo contra hominem.

19. *Ceteris*. .i. angeli perfecti.

In suis principatibus. .i. in proposito suo perseverant in celo.

20. *Draco*. i. diabolus, duplex consiliator interpretatur; dia, Grece, duo, latine; bulus, Grece, consiliator. latine.

21. *Serpens*. .1. in arlach ponábam [the tempting of Adam].

21. *Lubricus*. .i. lubricus, eoque ibi labitur, lubrum .i. opand in opiente pop na lenam cuile ap a (p)lémní pēb cabent, ꝥ bobepap uab ap caō plemōn ꝥ éōm bīce in abap ꝥ ip dia caccpīde bognoīthēb in ꝥꝥꝥ [i.e. a tree in the East on which flies stick because of its lubricity, *sed cadent*, and from it the name is given to everything slippery; and it is from the dung of birds that live in its top that the silk was manufactured].

Sapientior. .i. sapientia fit in bono et in malo, in bono ut dicitur, initium sapientie timor domini, ut dicit christus, perdam sapientiam sapientium huius mundi, vel sapientia bupbbu [folly], ut dicit sapientia huius mundi.

22. *Bestiis*. .i. bestia ab essu [from eating] more feriatatis [sic] dicta est.

Terrae. .i. terra dicta est a torrento, eoque commouentium gressibus atteritur.

Ferocioribus. .i. ferox eoque feriatatem exerceat.

23. *Tertiam partem. .i. graduum celestium.*

Siderum. .i. angelorum.

Traxit. .i. draco.

Barathrum. .i. in puteum .i. quasi voratrum .i. vorago ut circirius [?] dicit, *Baratrum* .i. hiatus terre .i. putereus in profundo maris et terre. *Baratrum* .i. loc uildicep renonı ı nı tellgıchep an co bdr. ı bobepan uab an cach gıam apchena [i.e. a place into which old people are cast, they are not let out of it till death, and the name is given from it to every kind of incarceration besides].

24. *Infernalium*. .i. in puteum.
Carcerum. .i. isidorus dicit eo quod homines coercentur. [*Etymol.* lib. v. c. 27, xv. c. 2.]
25. *Refugas*. .i. elathcha [i. deserters].
Veri luminis. .i. christi.
Parasito. .i. parasita, *puirreoir* no *bneacaine* no *brenchuch* [i. parasita, a buffoon or deluder, or a stinking pond, den, or dungeon].
Precipites. .i. *innac*[*n*] *arcap* a *diabulo* [i. e. cast down by the devil].
26. *Excelsus*. .i. deus .i. quasi valde excelsus.
Machinam. .i. *innair* no *m churchech* [the mass, or the machine].
Armoniam. .i. *meimchuibbiur* *pil* *et* *oir* na *buile* [the harmony which is between the creatures], ut dicit *boetius*, .i. *buine* o *buine* [between man and man] et cetera.
27. *Celum et terram*. .i. pro omni creatura uisibile, vel corpus.
Mare. .i. seculum vel scriptura.
Aquas. *mapait*, ebraice; *maron*, grece; *mare*, latine dicitur; *aquas* dicuntur tribulationes seculi, vel doctrina scribuntur.
28. *Herbarum*. .i. herba quasi serpa, eo quod serpit.
Virgultorum. .i. *innacaille* no *innapuba* [i. e. of the wood, or of the forest].
Arbuscula. .i. na *pualapcacha*.
29. *Solem*. .i. christum.
Lunam. .i. ecclesiam.
Sidera. .i. iusti.
Ignem. .i. uindicta vel gratia, et preces sancti.
Bestias. .i. ferociorese seculi, ut dicitur, quicquid ore bibit bestia nominatur.
31. *Hominem*. .i. adam vel christum. *Demum*. .i. *pabeoir*.
Regere. .i. omnia elementa.
Protoplastum. .i. *cetchputa* [first-formed], *protos*, grece; *primus*, latine; *plastum*, grece; *formatum* latine dicitur; vel *protoplastum* grece, *corpus* latine dicitur.
32. *Etheris*. .i. *mecheoir* [of the ether, or air].
33. *Conlaudaverunt*. Postquam creati sunt dicentes, *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth*.
Pæmirabili. .i. *apinnoppeb nbenmar* [i. e. on the great operator].
34. *Molis*. Non corporalis *molis*.
Presagmine^k. *Presagmine*. .i. o *chaircetul* no o *plogairdeincecht* [leg. *plog airchembecht*] *ap pperul* *q agmen* *pil* *and* *q irreb* *rein* *poboi* *do adam* [i. e. from instruction, or from host-leadership: for *presul* and *agmen* are in it; and that is what was Adam's] *ut* *uixit* *cic*, *dona-*
vit *deus* *cuncta*. Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit.
Opificem. .i. *gnimbenmar*. .i. opus et faciens.
35. *Preconio*. .i. *ondupbonail moltipchaige*. .i. [from the praiseful exclamation] *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth*.
36. *Concentuque*. .i. on *taipchetul epergna* [i. e. from the illustrious instruction].
Grates. pro gratias, sed causa rithmi.

Boetius.—The Editor has not succeeded in verifying this reference.

^k *Presagmine*.—In the Gloss on this word, *cic* seems as if intended for *Cicero*, but is possibly a

blunder for *cip*, i. e. *cipine*, or Hieronymus, for so the Irish call St. Jerome; but the Editor has not found the words quoted in any of St. Jerome's writings.

37. *Amore*. .i. pro.
Arbitrio. .i. arbitrium est proprium [sic] conatus anime.
Natura. .i. [nī] innanaicniub nochlannab molab dé [(not) in their nature was the praise of God planted], sed in voluntate et postetate [potestate] sua, sicut ostendit ante, ubi dixit, amore et arbitrio, quod dicit augustinus natura quæ nec recipit minus nec plus quam quod ab origine trahit, non invitus ergo laudante dominum sed ex voluntate.
38. *Grasatis*. .i. a diabulo.
Primis duobus. i. adam et eua.
39. *Zabulus*. .i. pocul ḡrecba [a Greek word], de consiliariis interpretatur, vel infirmus iap ḡennaich no comab don pocul ap diabulur bognechea ḡabulur cna. .ḡ. a .b. cna thepcab, or *zabulus*, was made from the word *diabulus*, through *z* from *d* [i. e. by changing *d* to *z*], through contraction [lit. cutting-down].
40. *Quorum*. .i. demoniorum.
41. *Consternarentur*. .i. na pālḡicir [what they concealed] quia invisibiles sunt demones.
Fragiles. .i. fragilis dicit eo quod facile frangi potest.
42. *Non valentes*. .i. na pailḡicir [i. e. what they revealed].
Hec intueri. .i. agmina diabolitica, vel carectera et volitantia.
43. *Fascibus*. Fascibus .i. innagḡinnob .i. ina comnib amail ḡrinne .i. caó comonb dib inaluc painingurca amail ḡrinne [i. e. in the bundles, i. e. in their *comonds* [assemblies?] like bundles, i. e. each *comond* of them in its proper place like a bundle.
44. *Sublatus*. .i. diabulus, .i. a conspectu dei vel ex unitate.
45. *Cujus*. .i. diabuli.
Constipatur. .i. blutair no lntair [i. e. is closed, or is filled].
Sutilitum. .i. nanamur [i. e. of the soldiers].
46. *Globo*. .i. o chuairc no o buibin [i. e. by a circle, or by a crowd].
Perduellium. .i. innanbechach, inter seipsos invicem semper, no cach contra deum et homines. Duellum .i. quasi duobus bellis bellatorum .i. qui bellis bellum interpretatur vel hostis ut cīc dixit. Aliter perduellium. .i. namcībe, quia fit perduellis inimicus.
47. *Exemplaribus*. .i. o éngnaphib demonum [i. e. from the examples (?) of demons].
Imbuti. .i. poptchi.
48. *Septis*. .i. septus a quo septis est, semper labidum [read lapidum] est. Septus autem lignorum. .i. custodias angelicas et uirtutes christi significat.
49. *Fornicarentur*. .i. perdirentur, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur hic, .i. quia non delarent [sic] homines peccata sua si uide[rentur].

On the lower margin of this page (109 b) occurs the following quatrain :—

Fuil cḡim, fuil cḡim
 nableḡair dobocht be bf:
 bīmmba dabetharb cipe,
 cepacht ocup díbele.

There are three things, there are three things
 That are unlawful to the poor of the living God:
 Thanklessness for their life, whatsoever it be,
 Dissatisfaction and *cíbele* (precipitancy?)

NOTE C.

Translation of the Hymn, and of the Scholia prefixed to its several Stanzas.

IN the following attempt to translate this Hymn, the Editor is not at all sure that he has always succeeded in expressing the author's meaning¹. The Latinity is extremely rude, and the readings in some places corrupt; nevertheless, the translation, and notes appended to it, may possibly be an assistance to some readers:—

CAPITULUM A.

The Title² is, *De unitate et Trinitate trium personarum*, and the Argument is the Canon [i. e. the text of Scripture] upon which the Capitulum is founded, as is read in Daniel [vii. 9] or in Isaias [vi. 1 ?], *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*. *Vetustus dierum sternus temporum erat*. *Vetustus dierum Deus dicitur*, pro multitudine dierum ante quos Deus erat; vel quia fuit [per] omnia tempora. It is the canon of a prophet he gives in it, quia ipse propheta erat; and it is from Daniel in particular he takes it, because he was the latest and noblest: but Colum-cille was the latest and noblest of the prophets of Erin.

The High Father, the Ancient of Days, and unbegotten,
Was without origin of beginning, and foundation¹;
Is and shall be to infinite ages of ages;
With whom is Christ the Only-begotten, and the Holy Ghost
Coeternal in the glory of the everlasting Godhead:
We preach² not three Gods, but we say there is one God,
Saving our faith in three most glorious Persons.

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CAPITULUM B.

This is the Title³, *De formatione novem graduum*, tribus prætermisiss, non per ignorantiam, sed pro angustia capituli prætermisit. But the Argument is, *Fiat lux et facta est*:—

He created the good Angels, Archangels, and the Orders
Of Principalities⁴, and Thrones, Powers and Virtues

¹ *Meaning*.—Dr. John Smith, Minister of Campbellton, in his *Life of St. Columba* (Edinb. 1798), has given in his Appendix (p. 137) a very loose poetical paraphrase of this Hymn, which, however, throws no light on its philological difficulties, and can scarcely be called a translation.

² *The Title*.—Colgan has abridged the Scholium thus: "Titulus est; De Unitate et Trinitate personarum. Argumentum verò ex illo Danielis vel Isaiæ: *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*." See note, p. 206, *supra*. The *Leabhar Breacc* has, "De unitate et Trinitate Dietatis [sic] trium perso-

narum in he in titul [this is the Title]. Inimopno in anamaint [this, however, is the Argument], ut dicitur in Danielio [sic], *Ecce videbam sedes posita et vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*."

³ *Foundation*.—*Crepido* may signify 'foundation;' and therefore *absque crepidine*, 'without anything to stand on,' 'self-dependent.' See note, p. 206. But perhaps it may also signify 'breach,' 'interval,' 'fissure.' See Du Cange, in *voc.*, and compare the use of the word *crebrare*, line 62 (p. 215, *supra*, and note).

That the Goodness and Majesty of the Trinity might not be inactive^p 10
 In all functions of bountifulness,
 But might have something whereby to show forth
 Celestial privileges^q largely in all possible expression.

CAPITULUM C.

De transmigratione^r novem graduum principis, this is the Title. But it is from the Apocalypse the Argument is taken, i. e. *Vidi Stellam de celo cecidisse in terram: et in Esaia, Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris.*

From the summit of the kingdom of heaven, of angelic rank,
 From the brightness of effulgence, from the loveliness of beauty, 15
 Lucifer, whom God had made, fell by being proud,
 And the apostate angels, with the same mournful fall
 Of the author of vain-glory, and of obstinate envy;
 The rest remaining in their Principalities.

^m *We preach.*—"Depromimus," we put forward, 'we propound,' or 'teach.'

ⁿ *This is the Title.*—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. De formatione novem graduum Angelorum, tribus prætermisiss: non per ignorantiam, sed per augustiam capituli prætermisiss. Argumentum ex illo, *Fiat lux et facta est.*" The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is as follows: "De formatione .ix. graduum, tribus prætermisiss, ipe in cireul [this is the Title]. Ipi imopno in angamaint [this, however, is the Argument], Quod in Genesi dicitur, *Fiat lux et facta est lux.*"

^o *Principalities.*—The reading of C., "Archangelos et ordines," has been adopted in the translation. See p. 207, note. See Col. i. 16: "Sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates." —*Vulg.* Our author uses *sedes* for *throni*, for the sake of his metre. See note, p. 207, *supra*.

^p *Inactive.*—"Uti non esset bonitas otiosa." These words occur in the Treatise, *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, which is attributed to Gennadius of Marseilles (Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.* xv. 475), and which has also been published in the works of St. Augustine (*Ed. Bened.* viii. App. p. 75), and of Isidore of Seville (*Ed. Romæ*, 1803, tom. vii. App. No. 13). The words of this Treatise, which our author evidently borrowed, are as follows:—"In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram, et aquam

ex nihilo. Et quum adhuc tenebræ ipsam aquam occultarent, et aqua terram absconderet, facti sunt angeli, et omnes cælestes virtutes, ut non esset otiosa Dei bonitas, sed haberet, in quibus ante spatia bonitatem suam ostenderet," &c.—c. 10. On the author and antiquity of the book, *De Eccl. Dogmatibus*, see the *Isidoriana*, tom. ii. of the Works of S. Isidore (*supr. cit.*), p. 31, cap. 83, n. 10, sq.

^q *Privileges.*—The reading *Privilegia* is here adopted, for the reason assigned in the note on line 12, p. 208. It has been found impossible to make the lines of the translation coincide with those of the original, and there seemed no object in attempting to be so rigidly literal.

^r *De transmigratione.*—Colgan reads: "Tit. De translatione novem graduum principis. Argumentum ex illo Apocalipsa, *Vidi stellam de celo cecidisse.* Et ex Esaia. *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris.*" The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is, "De transmigratione .ix. graduum angelorum, vel de peccato Adæ, ipe in cireul [this is the Title]. Ipi imopno in angamaint [this, however, is the Argument], quod dicitur in Apocalipsa, *Vidi Stellam cecidisse in terram.* Et in Esaia dicitur, *Quomodo Lucifer cecidisti mane oriebaris.*" The passages of Scripture quoted are Apoc. ix. 1, and Ia. xiv. 12. See the notes on this Capitulum, p. 208.

CAPITULUM D.

De ruina^a Diaboli, is the Title: i. e. *De mutatione nominis Luciferi in Draconem*. And this is the Argument, ut est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco Rufus habens capita septem, et cornua decem, et cauda ejus trahit secum tertiam partem siderum vel stellarum* [Apoc. xii. 3].

The Dragon, great, most foul, terrible and old, 20
 Who was the slippery serpent, more wise
 Than all the beasts and fiercer^t animals of the earth,
 Drew with him the third part of the stars,
 Into the pit of infernal places, and of diverse prisons,
 Deserters^u of the true Light, cast headlong^v by the parasite. 25

CAPITULUM E.

De creatione elementorum mundi et hominis regentis ea postea more, is the Title^w. And this is the Argument: *In principio fecit Deus celum et terram*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. i. 1].

The Most High^x in His foresight had made the structure and harmony of the world,
 The Heavens and the Earth, founded the sea and waters,
 The buds also of grasses, the twigs of shrubs,
 The sun, moon, and stars, the fire and necessary things,
 Birds, fishes, and cattle, beasts, and animals. 30
 Lastly, the first-created^y man, to rule with pre-eminence.

^a *De ruina*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. *De ruina Diaboli*. Argumen. ut est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco magnus, rufus, habens capita septem et cornua decem: et cauda ejus trahit tertiam partem syderum seu stellarum*." The Scholium in B. is, "*De ruina diaboli vel de mutatione [sic] nominis Luciferi in Draconem, Ece [sic] Draco rufus habens .vii. capita et .x. cornua, et cauda ejus trahit tertiam partem*."

^t *Fiercer*.—B. and C. read *ferocioribus*, which is followed in the translation.

^u *Deserters*.—The reading of B. is here adopted, *refugas*, the acc. pl. of *refuga*, in apposition with *tertiā partem* (line 23):—"He drew with him the third part, &c., who were deserters, &c."

^v *Cast headlong*.—The Editor is by no means sure that he has translated this passage rightly: he has left the word *parasite* untranslated, because he knows not how to render it consistently with the Gloss (see p. 209, *supra*, note on l. 25). He is very much dis-

posed to adopt the conjectural reading *paradiso*, and to translate, "cast down from paradise." Or perhaps the meaning may be, "cast down from being (in a good sense) a parasite," i. e. a servant entitled to sit at his master's table.

^w *The Title*.—C. omits *mundi*. For "*postea more*," C. reads "*postea more regis*;" and B., "*ea more regis*," omitting "*postea*." The insertion of *regis* is necessary to the sense. In C. and B. the words, "*ut in Genesi dicitur*," are before, not after, the quotation.

^x *Most High*.—The Latin is *Excelsus*, but the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breacc* is, "*i. Deus .i. quasi valde excelsus*." The construction evidently is, "*Excelsus [Deus] praevidens fecerat*"—the Most High in His Providence, &c.

^y *First created*.—So *protoplastum* is evidently to be understood. The animals were brought to Adam to be named, as a symbol of his pre-eminence and superiority. See the note on *Prasagmine*, p. 210, *supra*.

CAPITULUM F.

This is the Title^a, *De Laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes^a, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in Sapientia Salomonis^b dicitur*.

The stars, the luminaries of the ether, being made together
With wondrous structure^c; the angels joined in praising
The Lord of the immense mass, the Architect of the heavenly bodies,
With glorious, meet, and unceasing^d praise,
And with noble concent gave thanks to the Lord,
In love and free will, not from endowment of nature^e.

35

CAPITULUM G.

De peccato Adæ, et de secunda ruina Diabuli in seductione Adæ, is the Title^f. This is the Argument, *Maledictus eris serpens, terram comederis omnibus diebus vitæ*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. iii. 14].

Our first two parents having been assailed and seduced,
The Devil falls a second time^g, with his satellites,
(That, by the horror of whose countenances, and their noise as they fly,
Frail men terrified by fear might be affrighted,
Unable with bodily sight to look on these things),
Who^h are now bound with the tiesⁱ and bonds of their prison-houses.

40

^a Title.—See the note, pp. 210, 211.

^a Dicentes.—It is so also in B.; Colgan has corrected it into *dicentibus*.

^b *Sapientia Salamonis*.—See the note, p. 211, *supra*. Both B. and C. put the clause "ut in Sapientia Solomonis dicitur" before, not after, the quotation, "Quando feci celum," &c. It is remarkable that S. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. xix. tom. i. p. 373, Ed. Bened.*) quotes a passage from Job as the words of Solomon (*τὸ Σολομῶντος*), which the Benedictine editors suppose to be a mistake: "Lapsus memoriâ hic videtur Gregorius" (they say) "dum Salomoni tribuit verba quæ in libro Job occurrunt;" but others see in this a confirmation of the opinion that Solomon was the author or translator of the Book of Job.—Hardouin, *Chronol. Vet. Test. (Opp. Select., fol. Amstel. 1709, p. 533)*. The editor is not aware of any other instance of the Book of Job being cited under the name of *Sapientia Salomonis*.

^c *Wondrous structure*.—"Factis factura præmirabili," seems to be the connexion.

^d *Unceasing*.—This seems to be the meaning of *immobile*: immovable praise is unceasing, everlasting praise.

^e *Necessity of nature*.—"Donario," gift or endowment of nature. Their praise was the result of love and free will, not arising from any natural organization or necessity. See the Gloss, p. 210.

^f *The Title*.—C. has only, "Tit. De peccato Adæ, Argum., ut in Genesi dicitur, *Maledicta serpens comedes, terram omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ*." B. gives the Scholium thus: "Ἦρε ἡ ἐν τίτλῳ [this is the Title], De peccato Adæ. Ἦρ ἡ ἐν ἀργυμάνῳ [this is the Argument], quod in Genesi dicitur *Maledictus esse [sic] serpens*." See Gen. iii. 14.

^g *A second time*.—See note, p. 211.

^h *Who*.—i. e. the Devil and his satellites.

ⁱ *Ties*.—"Fascis" seems here used in the sense of *fascia*, a tie or ligature.

CAPITULUM H.

De ejectione Diabuli ex unitate angelorum, is the Title¹. But this is the Argument, what is said in Genesis, *Maledicte serpens*. And in the Gospel is said, *Vade retro Satanas* [Mat. iii. 10], et *non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum et illi soli servies* [Mat. iii. 7].

He, taken from the midst², is cast down by the Lord,
And the space³ of the air is thickly filled
With the turbid crowd of his rebellious satellites
Invisible,—lest men infected by their evil examples and crimes,
No screens or walls ever hiding them,
Should openly commit fornication⁴ before the eyes of all.

45

CAPITULUM I.

De eo quod vehunt nubes aquas ad celum, this is the Title^a. And this is the Argument, as David says, *Educens nubes ab extremo terræ*; and elsewhere he says, *Qui producit ventos de thesauris suis*.

The clouds carry the wintry floods from the springs,
From the three^b deeper regions of the ocean sea,
To the climates of heaven, in azure whirlwinds;
[Floods^c] which are to become profitable to the crops, vineyards, and buds,
[The clouds] being driven by the winds issuing from their treasure-houses,
And which^d empty in turns the pools of the sea.

50

55

¹ *Title*.—C. gives "the Argument" thus: "Argumentum. ut in Genesi dicitur; *Maledicta* [sic] *serpens comedes terram omnibus diebus*, &c. Et ut in Evangelio; *Vade retrò sathana*, &c."

² *The midst*.—i. e. from the midst of the angels, or of heaven. The Gloss in B. explains it, "i. a conspectu Dei, vel unitate."

³ *And the space*.—"Cujus" is paraphrased, and his, as best expressing the meaning. See the note, p. 212.

⁴ *Fornication*.—The Gloss explains that *fornicarentur* here signifies "perdirentur"—lest men should destroy themselves after the example of the devils; or that fornication is put for all sin—"pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur."

^a *Title*.—C. reads, "De eis qui vehunt aquas ad celum;" and for "et alibi dicit" C. has "et ut idem alibi dicit." The words quoted, however, occur in the same passage, Ps. cxxxiv. 7, *Vulg.*

^b *The three*.—It does not appear why our author speaks of "three" *gradantes* of the sea; even

though that word be used in the general sense of a region or division of the ocean, which the Editor has assumed to be its meaning here, in order to escape the difficulty of a literal translation. See the note, p. 213. He has also taken "occiani" as in apposition with "maris;" or perhaps we might translate, "the sea of ocean."

^c [Floods.]—The word "profuturas" must agree with "pontias," and "agitatas" with "nubes." To express this in English it was necessary to repeat the words *floods* and *clouds* here given within brackets.

^d *And which*.—The Gloss tells us that "quique" refers to "venti." If so, the antecedent "flaminibus" would have required "quæque;" and as this would be as consistent with the metre as "quique," it is strange that our author should have adopted the latter, if he had meant *flaminibus* to be the antecedent. It seems to the Editor more probable that the reference is to the word "fontibus" (line 50), as "nubes" and "pontias" in the same line were just

CAPITULUM K.

De intolerabili pœna peccatorum, is the Title. This is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Ecces Gigantes gemunt sub aquis* [Job, xxvi. 5].

The tottering and tyrannical and temporary present glory
Of the world and of kings, set aside^a by the will of God,
Lo! the giants are justly doomed^b to groan under waters
With great torment; to be burnt up with fire and punishment,
And smothered with the swelling Charybdis's^c of Cocytus,
Overwhelmed with Scylla's, are dashed to pieces with waves and rocks^d. 60

CAPITULUM L.

The Title^e is, *De moderatione pluvie venientis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter fluant*. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus ne pariter fluant deorsum* [Job, xxvi. 8].

The Lord drops down continually the waters bound up in the clouds,
Lest they should break forth all at once, bursting their barriers,
From whose^f very fertilizing streams, gradually flowing,
As from udders, through the regions of this earth,
Cold and warm^g at different seasons,
The never-failing rivers are constantly flowing in. 65

before disposed of. Thus the first three lines of this stanza are a statement of the author's notion of the natural phenomenon of rain. The clouds carry up to heaven, from the fountains of the great deep, the waters—whose uses he then proceeds in the next three lines to explain: they are carried up, in order that they may become profitable to the crops and vegetation of the earth; the clouds are driven and carried about by the winds; and the springs or fountains of the ocean, being thus alternately exhausted and replenished, produce the reciprocal flux and reflux of the tides. If this interpretation be correct, we have here a curious ancient philosophical theory of the cause of the tides.

^a *Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Trr. De intolerabili pœna peccatorum infinita. Argumentum vt in Libro Job dicitur, *Ecces Gigantes gemunt sub aquis*."

^b *Set aside*.—i. e. their glory being set aside, "Gloria nutu Dei deposita."

^c *Justly doomed*.—"Comprobantur," lit. are approved: that is, it is evident to all that their

doom is just. The meaning seems to be, that the antediluvian giants, who were supposed to be kings, having had their temporal worldly glory put an end to by the just judgment of God, were cast into hell.

^d *Charybdis's*.—It is necessary to retain the words, Charybdis, Cocytus, and Scylla, because they seem to have been intentionally used by our author as mythologically connected with the punishment of the giants in hell.

^e *Rocks*.—"Scropibus," apparently for *scrupis*, rough or sharp stones.

^f *The Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "De moderatione pluvie vehementis. Argumentum, vt in libro Iob dicitur, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus, ne pariter fluant*."

^g *From whose*.—i. e. of the waters, for *quarum* can only refer to *aquas*. The waters bound up in the clouds are, as it were, the breasts, or udders, from which the rivers of the earth are supplied.

^h *Cold and warm*.—i. e. from whose fertilizing streams, which are cold and warm at different seasons.

CAPITULUM M.

De fundamento terræ et de abisso, this is the Title^a. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit terram [super nihilum]*. Et alibi dicit, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et in Psalmo, *Qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*.

By the Divine powers of the great God are sustained
The globe of Earth, and the established^a circle of the great abyss.
The strong hand^b of the omnipotent God
Supporting on columns, as on beams sustaining the same^c;
The promontories and rocks, on solid foundations^d,
Immovable as on certain strengthened bases.

70

CAPITULUM N.

De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ et penis ejus et loco, this is the Title^a. And this is the Argument. *Eruisti animam meam ex inferno [inferiori]*. Ut in Evang[elio] dicitur. *Sepultus est dives in inferno*. Et alibi *Ite Maledicti in eternum ignem*. Et alibi *Vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis eius non exting[uitur]*.

To no man seemeth it doubtful that Hell is in the lowest places,
Where are darkness, worms, and dreadful beasts,
Where is sulphureous fire blazing with consuming flames,
Where are the groans of men, weeping, and gnashing of teeth.
Where is the terrible and ancient^e wail of Gehenna.
Where is the fiery horrid burning of thirst and hunger.

75

CAPITULUM O.

The Title is, *Of the inhabitants of Hell, who from very shame bow down in the name of the Lord*. The

^a *The Title*.—The Scholium, as given by Colgan, is as follows: "Tr. De fundamento terræ, et de abyso. Argumen. vt in Libro Iob: *Qui suspendit terram suprâ nihilum*. Et vt in eodem alibi, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et vt in Psalmo, *Fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*." The passages quoted are Job, xxvi. 7, and Ps. ciii. 5. The second passage is quoted as from the Book of Job. The reader will observe the Irish orthography "abiso" for *abyss*, and "molis" for *moles*.

^a *Established*.—"Inditus," appointed, fixed, settled.

^b *Strong hand*.—See notes, p. 216, above. *Suffulta* seems to be used here in an active sense—"supporting."

^c *The same*.—Scil. the globe of earth.

^d *On solid foundations*.—i. e. resting on solid foundations; an ablative absolute.

^e *Title*.—The words and parts of words supplied in brackets are obscure in the MS. Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tr. De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ, et penis ejus, ac loco. Argumentum vt in Psalmo: *Et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori*. Et in Evangelio: *Sepultus est in Inferno*. Et alibi; *Ite Maledicti in ignem eternum*." The passages of Scripture referred to are, Ps. lxxxv. 13; Luc. xvi. 22; Matt. xxv. 41; Marc. ix. 48.

^f *Ancient*.—Or perhaps *antiquus* may be used in the sense of perpetual, usual, constant.

^g *Title*.—This and the seven following stanzas are supplied from Colgan, a leaf being lost in the Dublin MS. See above, p. 217, and Note D.

Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (Phil. ii. 9)], *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* And as in the same [Apoc. v. 1], *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

Below the earth^b, as we read, we know there are dwellers 80
Whose knee in prayer¹ oft bendeth to the Lord,
To whom it is impossible to unroll the book written,
And sealed¹ with [seven] seals,
Which He^k had opened, and so became victorious,
Fulfilling the prophesied pre-eminence¹ of His advent. 85

CAPITULUM P.

The Title is, *De Paradiso Ada, id est, loco deliciarum.* The Argument, as is said in Genesis, *Plantaverat Paradisum voluptat[is] a principio* [Gen. ii. 8]. And in the Apocalypse [ii. 7], *Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto* [leg. vitæ], *quod est in Paradiso Dei mei.* And again [xxii. 2], *Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitæ, afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.*

That Paradise was planted by the Lord from the beginning,
We read in the most noble beginning of Genesis,
From whose fountain four rivers are flowing,
And in whose flowery midst is placed^m the tree of life,
Whose leaves bringing health to the Gentiles do not fall, 90
Whose joysⁿ are unspeakable and abundant.

CAPITULUM Q.

The Title^o is, *De ascensione Moysis ad Dominum in monte Sinai;* as is said in the Law, *Moyses ascendit, et descendit gloria ejus super montem Sinai* [Exod. xxiv. 15, 16]. Or the more correct Title is, *De*

^b *Below the earth.*—This seems founded on Apoc. v. 3: "No man in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth, could open the book;" and cf. v. 13; also Phil. ii. 10. In the title they are spoken of as the "incolæ inferni qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini."

¹ *In prayer.*—This word seems here to be an adverb; "precario flectit," bends prayerwise, or in prayer.

¹ *Sealed.*—Colgan gives this line imperfectly thus:—

"Ob signatum signaculis monitis;"

the intermediate words having doubtless been illegible in the MS. Perhaps the hiatus may be thus supplied:

"Ob signatum signaculis septem licet præmonitis."

"Although having been forewarned and called upon to do so."—Apoc. v. 2.

^k *Which He.*—"Idem" seems to refer to Do-

mino, ver. 81. But the construction is obscure, and the text probably corrupt—"Which [book] He the same Lord had opened, by which [book] He had become Conqueror"—Victor, alluding to Apoc. v. 5: "Ecce vicit Leo de tribu Juda," &c.

¹ *Pre-eminence.*—"Præsignmina." See p. 209, *supra*, and note, p. 210; also Add. Note B, p. 23. But it is probable that "præsignmen" is here used in the sense of prophecy: "fulfilling the prophetic predictions of His coming."

^m *Is placed.*—"Cujus et tua" in Colgan's text, which makes no sense, is corrected in his errata to "cujus et situm," and the line has been translated accordingly.

ⁿ *Whose joys.*—For "cujus inenarrabiles" in the original of this line, as given by Colgan, perhaps we should read "cujus sunt innarrabiles."

^o *Title.*—The second version of the Title and Argument here given is a proof of the antiquity of the

mirabilibus gloria adventus Domini in montem. But the Argument is, *Facta sunt tonitrua, et vocēs, et fulgura, et terra motus* [Apoc. xvi. 18].

Who hath ascended to Sinai, the appointed^p mountain of the Lord?
 Who hath heard the thunders beyond measure resounding?
 Who the clang of the enormous trumpet^q roaring?
 Who hath seen also the lightnings flashing around?
 Who the lamps^r and darts and falling rocks?
 Who but Moses the judge of the people of Israel?

95

CAPITULUM R.

The Title is, *De Die judicii, et nominibus ejus.* The Argument, what Zephaniah says, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus et velox nimis, &c.* [Zeph. i. 14-16].

The day of the Lord, of the King of Kings most righteous, is at hand;
 A day of wrath and vengeance, of darkness and cloud;
 And a day of wonderful strong thunders;
 A day of trouble also, of grief and sadness;
 In which shall cease the love and desire of women,
 And the strife of men, and the lust of this world.

100

CAPITULUM S.

The Title is, *De tremebunda presentia Dei, in die judicii.* The Argument, as in the second Epistle to the Corinthians [v. 10], *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi, &c.* And as is said in the Gospel, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua* [Matt. xvi. 27].

We shall be standing trembling before the judgment-seat of the Lord;
 And we shall give an account of all our deeds;
 Beholding also our crimes laid open before our sight,
 And the books of conscience opened before us,
 We shall break forth into most bitter weeping and sobs,
 The necessary matter^s of working being withdrawn.

105

CAPITULUM T.

The Title is, *De resurrectione proles Ada.* The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (1 Thes. iv. 16)], *Ipsē Dominus ut in jussu, et in voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de calo.* And again [Apoc. x. 7], *In diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum cāperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

Hymn, showing that several ancient copies of it were in circulation before the MS. from which Colgan edited it was written.

^p *Appointed.*—"Condictum." So Gen. xvii. 14, "Juxta condictum revertar ad te."

^q *Trumpet.*—Lit. "the clang of the trumpet," or "the clang of the enormity of the trumpet." *Perstreperē*, not *perstrepera*, is probably the true read-

ing. See p. 245, *infra*.

^r *The lamps.*—Alluding to Exod. xx. 18.

^s *The necessary matter.*—The meaning is obscure; the author probably intended to say that there shall then no longer be any power of doing good or evil: and so no place for repentance; there being no longer any "*materia operandi*"—no means of making amends.

The trumpet of the first Archangel sounding wondrous things,
 The strongest cloisters, and cemeteries¹, shall burst,
 The melting cold² of the men of this present world,
 The bones gathering together from all sides to their joints,
 The ethereal souls meeting the same,
 And returning again to their due mansions. 115

CAPITULUM U.

The Title is, *De tribus sideribus, thronos septem significantibus*. The Argument, as in the Book of Job, *Qui fecit Oriona, et interiora Austri* [Job, ix. 9]. *Numquid Luciferum et Vesperum in tempora certa constituiti* [Job, xxxviii. 32].

[This Capitulum is so corrupt in Colgan's Edition of the Hymn, that the Editor does not venture to attempt a translation. See Note D.]

CAPITULUM X.

The Title is, *De die iudicii et præfulgente ligno crucis*. The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [vi. 15, 16], *Abscendent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite*. And in the Gospel [Matt. xxiv. 29], *Statim post turbationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de calo*.

Christ the Most High Lord coming down from Heaven,
 The most glorious sign and banner of the Cross shall shine,
 And the two principal luminaries being struck,
 The stars shall fall to the earth, as fruit from the fig-tree, 125
 And the compass of the world shall be as the burning of a furnace,
 Then shall the hosts hide themselves in the caves of the mountains.

CAPITULUM Y.

De Laude Dei [Domini. C.] ab angelis, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [iv. 4], *In circuitu throni vidi sedes, xxiv. seniores, sedentes in veste alba et capitibus eorum corona aurea vidi*.

By the chaunting of hymns continually resounding
 Thousands of Angels singing in holy dances³; 130

¹ *Cemeteries*.—See Du Cange, in v., *Polyandrum*, *Polyandrium*.

² *The cold*.—This line is very obscure, and the readings probably corrupt. Is the word *frigora* the subject or object of *erumpent*? And is *liquescentia* a participle?—if so, what is the construction? "*Liquescentia*" occurs in Du Cange as a substantive, in the sense of "apparentia, vel defectus, vel liquiditas." But this gives no very good sense.

Perhaps we should read "hominem;" and translate, "The cold of this present world, melting [i. e. dissolving or destroying] man, shall burst the cloisters and cemeteries." The translation given above is an attempt to render literally the existing text; it assumes *frigora* to be the object of *erumpent*.

³ *Dances*.—"Tropodiis," perhaps for *tripudiis*, as in C.,—a word which is used in the Vulg., *Esth. viii. 16*, to denote "dances" as a manifestation of joy,

And the four Animals full of eyes,
 With the four-and-twenty blessed elders,
 Casting their crowns under the feet of the Lamb of God,
 The Trinity is praised, with three eternal repetitions*.

CAPITULUM Z.

De uatione impiorum nolentes [sic] Christum credere, et de gaudio justorum, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [read "in the Apostle"], *Terribilis ignis consumet adversarios* [Hebr. x. 27]. And elsewhere the Apostle^x says *Mansiones multe sunt apud Patrem*; and Christ says, *In domo Patris mei multe mansiones sunt* [John, xiv. 3].

The furious indignation of fire shall devour the adversaries, 135
 Who refuse to believe that Christ is come from God the Father,
 But we shall fly^y forthwith to meet Him,
 And so shall we be with Him in various orders of dignities
 According to the perpetual merits of our rewards,
 To remain in glory, for ever and ever^z. 140

At the end of the Hymn are two *Antiphons*, in the same metre as the Hymn itself, and probably coeval with it, or nearly so. The former of these, as the Preface tells us, is to be sung, in reciting the Hymn, after each Stanza or Capitulum; but no mention is made of the second. The former is therefore certainly older than this Preface; the latter probably more modern, although it is also evidently very ancient.

The former may be translated thus:—

Who can please God, in this last time?
 When the noted marks of truth are changed,
 Except the despisers of this present world.

The second Antiphon is an express invocation of the Trinity, and was probably intended to be used instead of the former, in order to meet the objection which had been made^a, that the author, in this Hymn, had not dwelt sufficiently on the praises of the Trinity. See the next Hymn.

"gaudium, honor, et tripudium." *Vernantibus* is rendered "singing." See Du Cange, in *voc.*, who cites, in proof of this signification, a passage from the Life of St. Peter, afterwards Pope Celestine V. (Acta SS. tom. iv. Maii, p. 423); where the word is applied to the singing of angels, a great company of whom was seen by the Saint in vision: "et in ore cujusque illorum erant rosæ ruberæ, et cum illis rosæ vernabant dilectabiliter nimis; ita quod postquam excitatus fuisset a somno, cantum illum

audierit per tantum spatium, quo posset dici *Pater noster*."

^y *Repetitions*.—"Vices," *changes*, alluding to the "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus."—Apoc. iv. 8.

^z *The Apostle*.—See above, note, p. 218.

¹ *We shall fly*.—This seems founded on 1 Thess. iv. 13-17.

² *For ever and ever*.—The reading of C. is here adopted. See p. 219, note.

^a *Made*.—This objection is stated in the Preface

This second Antiphon may be thus translated:—

God the Father, unbegotten, Lord of heaven and earth,
And the Son, begotten of Him, before all worlds,
And the Holy Ghost, one, true, most High God,
I invoke; that He may give most ready help,
To me the least of all His servants,
Whom the Lord hath made one with the myriads of Angels^b.

NOTE D.

The Stanzas missing in the Dublin Copy of the Liber Hymnorum.

THE following are the Stanzas wanting in the Dublin MS. in consequence of the loss of one leaf, as already mentioned, p. 217, note on line 79. As the Editor has no access to any other copy of this Hymn except that printed by Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturga*, and as that work is now very scarce, he has thought fit to preserve the missing stanzas here, although Colgan's text is full of inaccuracies and errors of the press, some of which will be corrected, wherever the correction is obvious and certain; and some other conjectural emendations will be suggested in the notes:—

TRR. De incolis infirmi, qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini. ARGUMENTUM^c: ut in Apocalipsi; *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* Et ut in eadem, *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

<p>Orbem infra, ut legimus^d, incolae esse novimus, Quorum genu præcario^e frequenter flectit Domino, Quibusque impossibile librum scriptum revolvete^f, Obseignatums signaculis monitis, Quem idem resignaverat, per quem victor extiterat, Explens sui præsignamina adventus prophetalia.</p>	<p>80</p> <p>85</p>
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TRR. De Paradiso Adæ, id est, loco deliciarum. ARGUM.^h Ut in Genesi dicitur; *Plantaverat Paradi-*

(see p. 222), "And they said that there was no fault in the Hymn, except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*," &c.

^b *Angels*.—Perhaps alluding to Mark, xii. 25.

^c *Argumentum*.—The first passage here quoted as from the Apocalypse, is really from Phil. ii. 9, by a mistake that often occurs of "Apoc." for "Apostle." The second is from Apoc. v. 1.

^d *Ut legimus*.—Alluding to Phil. ii. 10; Apoc. v. 3, 13.

^e *Præcario*.—See above, p. 240, note.

^f *Revolvete*.—The Vulgate has "*aperire librum*." Sabatier does not mention the reading *revolvere*, which seems to be ancient, from its agreement with the original roll form of books.

^g *Obseignatum*.—See the conjectural emendation of this line already proposed, note, p. 240, *supra*.

^h *Argumentum*.—Colgan gives the first quotation from the Apocalypse thus: "Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto," which is an obvious error of tran-

sum voluptatis a principio. Et in Apocalipsi: Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto [leg. vitæ] quod est in paradiso Dei mei. Et alibi, Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitæ afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.

Plantatum a probemio Paradisum a Domino
 Legimus in Primordio Genesis nobilissimo.
 Cujus ex fonte flumina quatuor sunt manantia,
 Cujus et¹ situm florido lignum vitæ est medio
 Cujus non cadunt folia^k gentibus salutifera
 Cujus inenarrabiles^l delicias ac fertiles.

90

TIT. De ascensione Moysis^m ad Dominum in monte Sinai. ARGUM. Quod in Lege dicitur, *Moses ascendit, et descenditⁿ gloria ejus super montem Sinai.* Vel verior titulus est, *De mirabilibus gloria adventus Domini in montem.* ARGUMENTUM vero, *Facta sunt tonitrua et voces, et fulgura, et terra motus.*

Quis ad condictum Domini montem conscendit Sinai,
 Quis audivit tonitrua supra modum sonantia?
 Quis clangorem^o perstreperæ enormitatis buccinæ?
 Quis quoque vidit fulgura in gyro coruscantia?
 Quis lampades et jacula, saxaque collidentia?
 Præter Israelitici Moysen judicem populi?

95

TIT. De die Judicii et nominibus ejus. ARGUM. Quod Sophonias dixit, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus, et velox nimis; dies illa, dies iræ, et furoris, et angustia; die calamitatis et miseria; dies tenebrarum et caliginis; dies nebula et turbinis; dies tubæ et clangoris.*

Regis regum rectissimi, prope est dies Domini;
 Dies iræ et vindictæ, tenebrarum et nebulæ;
 Diesque mirabilium tonitruorum fortium;
 Dies quoque angustia, mœoris ac tristitiæ;
 In quo cessabit mulierum amor et desiderium,
 Hominumque contentio, mundi hujus et cupido^p.

100

scription for "de ligno vitæ," vitæ having been probably mistaken for *eto*. *Manducare* is an ancient reading, for which the modern Vulgate has *edere*, Apoc. ii. 7. The "Commentary on the Apocalypse," printed with the works of St. Augustine, reads *manducare*. In the other passage of the Apocalypse referred to (xxii. 2), the modern Vulgate reads *sanitatem* for *curationem*, which last is the reading of the ante-Hieronymian version, and is so quoted by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose. See Sabatier, *in loco*.

¹ *Cujus et*.—Colgan has printed this line thus:

"Cujus et tua florido lignum vitæ est medio," but he corrects it as above in his *Errata*.

^k *Folia*.—Colgan has *falia*, an obvious error of

the press, which he has corrected as above in his *Errata*.

^l *Inenarrabiles*.—See note, p. 240.

^m *Moysis*.—Colgan prints *Moyis*, which is evidently an error of the press.

ⁿ *Descendit*.—Colgan puts a full stop after this word, which of course is also an error of the press.

^o *Quis clangorem*.—Colgan prints this line thus: "Quis clangorem derstremere ormitatis buccinæ," but he corrects it in his *Errata* as above: where *perstreperæ* seems to be an adjective agreeing with *buccinæ*, unless we should read *perstreperæ*. See above, p. 241, note.

^p *Cupido*.—The penultimate syllable is here short.

TIT. *De tremebunda præsentiâ Dei in die iudicii.* ARGUM. ut in secunda Epistola ad Corinthios, *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi, ut referat unusquisque propria sui corporis prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum.* Et ut in Evangelio dicitur, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*

S tantes erimus^a pavidî ante tribunal Domini;
Reddemusque de omnibus rationem effectibus^b; 105
Videntes quoque posita ante obtutus crimina,
Librosque conscientiarum patefactos in facie,
In fletus amarissimos ac singultus erumpemus^c,
Subtracta necessaria operandi materia.

TIT. *De resurrectione prolis Adæ.* ARGUM. Ut in Apocalypsi, *Ipse Dominus ut in iussu et voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de cælo.* Et iterum; in *diebus vocis septimi Angeli, cum aperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

T uba^d primi Archangeli strepente admirabilia, 110
Erumpent munitissima claustra ac poliandria,
Mundi præsentis frigora hominum liquescentia,
Undique conglobantibus ad compagines ossibus,
Animabus ætherialibus eisdem obeuntibus,
Rursumque redeuntibus debitis in mansionibus.

TIT. *De tribus syderibus^e thronos septem^f significantibus.* ARGUM. Ut in libro Job, *Qui fecit Orióna et interiora Austris. Nunquid luciferum et vesperum in tempora certa constituisti.*

V agatur ex climatico^g Orion cœli cardine,
Derelicto Virgilio^h astrorum splendissimo,

^a *Erimus.*—The penultimate is here apparently long.

^b *Effectibus.*—Acts or deeds, as contradistinguished from thoughts or intentions.

^c *Erumpemus.*—The penultimate is here made short.

^d *Tuba.*—Alluding to 1 Thess. iv. 16, a passage which is quoted in the Scholium as if it was in the Apocalypse, by an error that repeatedly occurs. But Apoc. viii. 7, seems also to be referred to.

^e *De tribus syderibus.*—Sidus is properly a constellation consisting of several stars, "Sidera vero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades, Pleiades" (Isidor. Hispal. *Etymol.* lib. iii. 60).

^f *Thronos septem.*—This is probably an allusion to St. Gregor. *Moral.* lib. ix. (in Job, ix. 9), "Quid namque Arcturi nomine, qui in cœli axe constitutus, septem stellarum radiis fulget, nisi Ecclesia univer-

salis exprimitur, quæ in Johannis Apocalypsi per septem Ecclesias, septemque candelabras figuratur?" Compare also the *Glossa Ordinaria*, in loc., which is founded on this passage of St. Gregory.

^g *Climatico.*—*Clima* is *inclinatio* (see Du Cange in voc.); and this line may possibly be rendered "Orion wanders from the inclined pole of heaven," meaning the North Pole, which appears in these latitudes above the horizon—"Cardines extremæ axis partes sunt."—Isid. Hispal. *De Natura rerum*, C. xii. n. 3 (Opp. *Roma*, 1803, tom. vii. p. 21).

^h *Virgilio.*—Usually written *Vergilia*, sometimes *Virgilia*, the constellation called the *Pleiades*; so called according to some (e.g. Voss. in *Etymol.*), "a virgula, quod virgulas more porrigantur." But others derive the name from *ver*, as Festus, who says "Vergiliæ dictæ, quia earum ortu ver finitur, et æstas incipit." And so also Isid. Hispal. *De*

Per methas Tithis¹ ignoti Orientalis circuli
 Girans certis ambagibus redit priscis redivitibus,
 Oriens post biennium, vesperugo² in vesperum, 120
 Sumpta in proplasmatis³ tropicis intellectibus.

TIT. *De die judicii et præfulgente ligno crucis.* ARG. ut in Apocalipsi, *Abscendent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite.* Et in Evangelio; *Statim posturbationem dierum illorum, sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de cælo.*

X to de cælis Domino descendente altissimo,
 Præfulgebit clarissimum signum crucis et vexillum
 Tactisque luminaribus duobus principalibus
 Cadent in terram sydera, ut fructus de ficulnea, 125
 Eritque mundi spatium, ut fornacis incendium,
 Tunc in montium specubus abscondent se exercitus.

NOTE E.

The Religious use of the "Altus"—Legend of Maelsuthain O' Cearbhail.

THE Editor is indebted to his friend Professor Curry for permission to extract the following curious Legend from the interesting and valuable volume of Lectures on Irish History and Literature, which that gentleman is about to publish. There are very few allusions to the "Altus" in Irish history, and of these the greater part occur in the biographies of its author; the following singular Legend is the only allusion to

Naturæ rerum, c. xxvi. n. 6 (tom. vii. p. 39, edit. Areval. Romæ, 1803):—"Has [Pleiades] Latini vergilias appellaverunt, eo quod vere oriantur," &c. (Conf. Ejusd. *Etymol.* lib. iii. cap. lxxi. n. 13). St. Ambrose (*De interpellatione Job*, lib. i. c. iv. n. 11) quotes Job. ix. 9 from an ancient Latin version, thus: "Qui facit vergilias, et hesperum, et septemtrionem, et austri ministerium." The text of this Capitulum is so evidently corrupt, that until access can be had to the copy preserved at Rome, which is the only other MS. of the Hymn known to exist, it would be waste of time to attempt a translation.

¹ *Tithis*.—Perhaps we should read *Hyadis*, or *Hiadis*; *Hia* being pronounced as a monosyllable; unless "metas Tithis" be a corruption of the Greek

word *metastasis*, or *metathesis*, in the acc. plur.; the "metastases of the unknown eastern circle,"—which may signify the inverted or unseen portions of the eastern circle, viz., that part of it which was below the horizon. See Bede, *de Temporum ratione*, cap. 34, where the ancient theory which our author seems to have had in view is explained (ed. Giles, tom. vi. p. 214, seq.).

² *Vesperugo*.—An evening star.

³ *Proplasmatis*.—The Greek word, *πρόπλασμα*, signifies a clay model for the use of an artist; but this can scarcely be its meaning here. This last line, which seems quite unintelligible, is evidently corrupt; but, without the aid of another MS., correction is impossible.

the religious use of the Hymn which has come to the knowledge of the Editor. From this story it appears that the recitation of the Hymn was practised as a religious exercise, and that it was supposed to be efficacious in obtaining from the Almighty the recovery of the sick.

The Legend was extracted by Mr. Curry from the "Liber Flavus Fergusorum," a MS. in vellum, of the fifteenth century, in two volumes, quarto, now in the possession of James Marinus Kennedy, Esq., of 47, Gloucester-street, Dublin, by whom it was inherited from his ancestor, Dr. John Fergus, an eminent Irish scholar and antiquary, who was well known as a physician in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

It will be necessary to give the reader some short account of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll, to whom the following Legend relates. He was chieftain of the Eoghanacht Locha Léin, that is, of the descendants of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilliol Olum, who inhabited a district including Loch Léin, the present Lake of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry. He was a man of eminent learning, and is supposed to have collected the materials from which the Annals of Inisfallen (an island in the lower Lake of Killarney) were compiled^b. In the story which follows he is called *Onmchapa*, or *Counsellor* of the celebrated Brian Boroimhe, King of Ireland, and, as Mr. Curry thinks, was probably the tutor or teacher of that monarch. The Book of Armagh^c, a MS. now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a curious note in the handwriting of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, written about A.D. 1002, in the presence of King Brian Boroimhe, which the Editor of this work had the honour of exhibiting to her Majesty Queen Victoria, at her visit to the Great Dublin Exhibition of 1853.

At the close of his life Maelsuthain, as the Legend relates, devoted himself to penitential exercises, and appears to have become a monk in the religious establishment of this island of Inisfallen. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters at the year 1009, the true date being 1010:—

Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill do múntrú
Iní Fathlenn, príomhaí na dtíre dothan
na amháin, 7 tógadh Eoghanachta Locha Léin,
bécc.

Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the family [i. e. religious community] of Inis Faithlenn, chief doctor of the western world in his time, and Lord of the Eoghanacht of Loch Léin, died.

^b *Compiled*.—See O'Reilly's Irish Writers (Transact. Ibero-Celtic Society), at the year 1009.

^c *Book of Armagh*.—This most remarkable MS. was purchased by His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, and presented to the Library of Trinity College in the year 1854. His Grace has subsequently

placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Reeves a sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of the publication of the MS., and we may shortly expect to see it in print, with introductory matter and notes, under the able editorial skill of that accomplished scholar.

We may now give the Legend itself, with Mr. Curry's translation:—

Thian foglannocig camicubap o cuinnipir bo deannum leiginn dinnraibí anmcapab bpiam mic Ceinneidigh .i. muilrúctain huat Cearbhaill, deoganaat locha léin, air ba he ecnaibí ba fearr ina ainmipir he. Ir amlaib no babap in thian foglannocigir, i com- cruat, i combealba, i aenainm forpo .i. doih- nall an tainm. Ro babap imorroip tpi bli- adna ao foglaim ocoo. A cinn tpi bliadan a dubnabap fpi noibí: ipi ail linn, ap ríab, bul copoici leupaleim ipin tpi luda, gu no imoibí ap cora cech conaip no imið an tSlainicib a calaib. A dubaip in tpi: Ní nachaib no gu faebachai luach mo faeip [raetir] acumra. A dubnabap na dalcaib: Ní fuil acuinm, ap ríab; ní bo bepmuir buice, aat bemuib tpi bliadna aile ag oñuloib bu- ice, maib ail leat. Ní h-ail, apre, aat beb cobraib mo bheic feim bam, no den bap ne- argaime. Do bepm, oppiab, dia noib acuinm. Ro naip forpo fo foircela in coimbeab, iachair, apre, in conaip ipi ail lín, i bíd maib ríab a naeipéad ap an cupur, i ipi bneach concim opuibí, can bul ap neaib iap neaib buib, no co tpiabí cucumra ap búr dia mn- rin bam ce fab mo faegail, i co no innipib an faigam cennra in coimib. Deallmuibne buicir an no rin a huat an coimib, apriab; no imuib [and] rin, i pucab beannactam leo o na noibí, i no faegat beannactam aigí dna. Ro rípirce cech conaip no cuabab in tSlainicib do imoibí. Camicubap dna fo- beoib copoici leupaleim, i puapupab bap aenipead ann, i no haónaicead no noip moip iab in leupaleim. Camic Mícel apc- amgeal o Dia apa ceahh. I dubnabap rum: ní raigum no go rlanauib in bneach eugram fpi ap noibí fo foircela Cipre. Iatichib [read imchib], ap in aigil, i innipib do tpi bliadna co leich aigí do faegail, i a bul in

* There came three students at one time from *Cuin- nire** to receive education from the *Anmchara* [soul- friend] of Brian MacCeinneidigh* that is, Maeluthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, because he was the best sage of his time. These three stu- dents resembled each other in figure, in features, and in their name, which was Domnall. They remained three years learning with him. At the end of three years they said to their preceptor: "It is our de- sire," said they, "to go to Jerusalem, in the land of Judea, in order that our feet may tread every path which the Saviour trod on earth." The tutor an- swered: "You shall not go until you have left with me the reward of my labour." The pupils said: "We have not," said they, "anything that we could give thee, but we will remain three years more, to serve thee humbly, if thou desire it." "I do not wish that," said he, "but you shall grant me my own demand, or I will lay my curse upon you." "We will grant thee that," said they, "if we can." He then bound them by an oath on the Gospel of the Lord. "You shall go in the path that you desire," said he, "and you shall die all at the same time to- gether, on the pilgrimage. And the demand I require from you is, that you go not to heaven after your deaths, until you have first visited me, to tell me the length of my life, and until you tell me whether I shall obtain the peace of the Lord." "We promise thee this," said they, "for the sake of the Lord;" and then they departed, and they took a blessing with them from their tutor, and they left him their blessing also. They walked in every path in which they had heard the Saviour had walked. They came at last to Jerusalem, and there they found their joint death, and were buried with great honour in Jerusalem. Then Michael the Archangel came from God for them. But they said: "We will not go, until we fulfil the promise we made to our preceptor, on the Gospel of Christ." "Go," said the angel, "and tell him that he has still three years and a half to

* *Cuinire*.—The ancient church from which the diocese of Connor, in Ulster, is now named.

* *Brian Mac Ceinneidigh*.—Brian, son of Cen- neidigh, or Kennedy: the celebrated Brian Boromha.

ipponn co bñach, iarrin beupn an bñeach alio bñacha fain.

Inbñr buinn, ar riab, cñd ma cupñar in ipponn é. Ar epñ fachaib, ar in cainñil, .i. ara meo cõppcear an canoin, añur a meo do inñainn fñpñib coimñiceann, añur ar cñegab an alturpa.

Ire inñopno fae ar an cñeigrum an alturp .i. mac maie pobaeib acõm [read ooco] .i. maelpadraic a ainm. Ropgob galup baip in mac. Ro gob an alturp fo feaoc ma cñicill ar baib conabbañ mapb in mac. Nip capbaib doibñuñm ñn, uair ba mapb in mac pa ceboip. Ibubairc Maelputain nach geboñ alturp cñe bñuñm o nao pacuib anoir ao Dia fain. ñ ni beapanoip euc Dia bon alturp ñan flaincñ baib mac ñan, aoc feapñ leip in mac bo beicñ ebip muinncñp neññe na ebip muinncñp talman. po baeb Maelputain feaoc mbliabna cen alturp bo gobail. Iarñin cangabap a epñur balcñb do añaluib Maelputain ipñeacñb epñ colum ngeal, ñ feapñam failcñ fñu. Inñpñib ñam ce fao mo ñaeñail, ñ an faoñm poeñuic. Aac, ar ñiabñom, epñ bliabna do ñaeñul acub, ñ bo buñ a nipñonn cobñach iarñin. Cñd ima mbeinn a nipñonn, ar epñin. ar epñ fachaib, ar ñiabñum, ñ po inñpñib na epñ fae a dubñumap pomuinn. Ni ba fñp mo buñpa an ipñonn, ar fe, uair na epñ huile ñn, apñe, acacñ ocõmpa aniu, ni biab ocõmpa opunn amach, ñ cñeigñeapna na huile ñn, ñ loñpñib Dia ñam iab, amail po geall ñein an can a dubairc: "impietap inñpñ in quacumque hora conueññup fñeñic non nocebit ei." Ni ñen ñna, cñall uaim pñin ipñin canõñp [aoc] amail no geib ipñna leoñpñuib ñiañuib. Geboñ ñna cño flñeacñain

live, and that he goes to hell for ever, after the sentence is passed upon him on the day of judgment."

"Tell us," said they, "why he is sent to hell." "For three causes," said the angel; "viz., because of how much he interpolates the canon; and because of the number of women with whom he has lain; and for having abandoned the *Altus*."

The reason why he abandoned the *Altus* was this: He had a good son, whose name was Maelpatrick. This son was seized with a mortal sickness, and the *Altus* was sung seven times around him, that the son should not die. This was, however, of no avail for them, as the son died forthwith. Maelsuthain then said that he would never again sing the *Altus*, as he did not see that God honoured it. But it was not in dishonour of the *Altus* that God did not restore his son to health, but because He chose that the youth should be among the family of heaven, rather than among the people of earth. Maelsuthain had then been seven years without singing the *Altus*. After this his three pupils came to talk to Maelsuthain, in the forms of three white doves, and he bade them welcome. "Tell me" [said he] "what shall be the length of my life, and if I shall receive the heavenly reward." "Thou hast," said they, "three years to live, and thou goest to hell for ever then." "What should I go to hell for?" said he. "For three causes," said they; and they related to him the three causes that we have already mentioned. "It is not true that I shall go to hell," said he, "for those three vices that are mine this day, shall not be mine even this day, nor shall they be mine from this time forth, and I will abandon these vices, and God will forgive me for them, as He Himself hath promised, when He said: '*Impietas impii in quacumque hora conversus fuerit non nocebit ei*' [Ezek. xxxiii., 12]. I will put no sense of my own into the canon, but such as I shall find in the

¹ *The Canon*.—This apparently signifies the code of ecclesiastical laws, which Maelsuthain was called upon to administer as chieftain of his tribe, and which he had probably often interpreted so as to suit his own secular interests or inclinations: for he after-

wards in this narrative is made to promise, "I will put no sense of my own into the Canon, but such as I shall find in the divine books." But the word *Canon* is used also to signify the Old or New Testament. See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 359, note °.

cech lai. Seacht mbliadhna actura gen Altur do gabail, 7 gebad in tAltur fo reacht ced noicid cen beb beo, 7 do den tpeginur ceda reachtmuine. Denaid ri dno coct docum neimhe, ar re, 7 tigi allo meirbeacta dinnuim pcel bairn. Tiucpamuib, ar riab, 7 do cuadar a tpiur fon tuararcbaib cerna, 7 no bean-naactarab do, 7 no beannad rum dairi ruih. Ilo an eirbeacta tangubar a tpiur fon tuararcbaib cerna, 7 no beannachachu [7 beannacha] cach da deile dib, 7 no fuparad dib: in mann mo beatara indiu ac Dia 7 an la eile tangabuir dom agalluib. Ni hinann umorpo, arriab, uair do tearbenab buinne tinaora ar neim, 7 ip leop linnu a feabur. Tangamapne anu, amail no zeallamapne, ar do ceannra, 7 tar linn ar amur an maib rin, co nobuir i pparacur De 7 an aentaib na tpiunob, 7 muinntuiri neimhe, co bpat na mbreath.

Ip annuiri no tnoilub racar [racarpe] 7 cleiruib imda cuigi, 7 no hongab he, 7 ni no rgarab a balcaib ppiu no gu nbeabap do cum neimhe. 7 ipre rreptua [rreptua] in ppiu maib rin ata in innuiri paitleonn ipu eclair por. Pim.

Another brief allusion to the *Altus* occurs in the *Mesca*, or "Intoxication," of St. Columcille, a pretended prophecy attributed to that saint, and said to have been written a week before his death. At the conclusion of this forgery (which was probably composed in the seventeenth century), St. Columcille is made to say that he leaves the *Altus*, with some other of his compositions, as a legacy to the men of Ireland^b.

^a *Screptra*.—This word appears to be a corruption of *Scriptura*; but whether it signifies here a single work, or a collection of MSS., Mr. Curry professes himself unable to determine. The Four Masters mention the burning of Armagh, A. D. 1020, in which the only house that escaped was the Teach rreptua, "Domus Scripturarum," the Bibliotheca or Library (as Colgan, and O'Donovan, translate it), but which was more probably the *Scriptorium*, i. e. the house or apartment in which books were written. See Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 406, sq. But at the date 1417 (p. 829), the Four

divine books. I will perform an hundred genuflections every day. Seven years have I been without singing the *Altus*, and now I will sing the *Altus* seven times every night while I live; and I will keep a three days' fast every week. Go you now to heaven," said he, "and come on the day of my death to tell me the result." "We will come," said they; and the three of them departed as they came, first leaving a blessing with him, and receiving a blessing from him. On the day of his death the three came in the same forms, and they saluted him, and he returned their salutation, and said to them: "Is my life the same before God that it was on the former day that ye came to talk to me?" "It is not, indeed, the same," said they, "for we were shown thy place in heaven, and we are satisfied with its goodness. We have come, as we promised, for thee, and come now with us to the place which is prepared for thee in the presence of God, and in the unity of the Trinity, and of the hosts of heaven, until the judgment of judgments."

There then assembled about him many priests and ecclesiastics, and he was anointed, and his pupils parted not from him until they all went to heaven together. And it is this good man's writings ["screptra"] that are in Inisfallen, in the church, still.

Masters record the burning of the Church of Inis Mor [now Church Island] in Loch Gill, near Sligo, in which the "Screptra Ui Chuirnin," or MSS. of O'Cuinnin, and the "Leabhar Gearr" [short book] of the same family, were burned. See Dr. O'Donovan's notes on this passage.

^b *Ireland*.—See this passage quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. lxxx., where, however, in the third line, for ag piu an epca, read mo mheapga, and translate "My *Amhra*, my *Mesca*, pure, bright." For a further account of the *Mesca*, see Prof. Curry's *Lectures*, p. 406, sq.

XV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "IN TE CHRISTE."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan, probably from the MS. now preserved at St. Isidore's College in Rome. Colgan's text is the only copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access for collation with the Dublin MS.; and is referred to in the notes by the letter C. It is the more to be regretted that we have not access to the Isidorian MS., because the Irish Preface is in many places illegible, and the preface, as published by Colgan, is either a mere abridgment of his original, or must have been translated from a different text.

Colgan's version of the Preface¹ is as follows:—

"*In te Christe, &c.* S. Columba composuit hunc hymnum cursivo rythmo. Et causa fuit, quod parce disseruerit de sacro-sancta Trinitate in Hymno præcedenti, quem alioquin optimum pronunciavit S. Gregorius Papa."

The following is a translation of all that is now legible of the Irish Preface in the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*:—

"*In te Christe.* Columcille made this Hymn. He made it in rhythm: sixteen syllables in each line: but some say that it was not Columcille at all that composed it, [except] from the words "Christus Redemptor," to [the words] "Christus crucem," and that is the reason why many repeat that part *only*. The place² was Hy; the time, that of Aedh son of Ainmire; the cause was, when he sent [messengers to Rome] with the Altus, Gregory found fault with Columcille, because he had put into it [too scanty praise of the Trinity]."

In this translation the Editor has supplied within brackets, by conjecture, what appears to have been the sense of the matter contained in the passages now illegible; guided by the account of the occasion upon which this Hymn

¹ *Preface*.—Trias Thaum., p. 475.

Hymn was composed. See above, p. 220,

² *The place*.—That is, the place where the and notes.

was composed, as told in the Preface to the *Altus*. It will be observed, however, that the censure said to have been passed by Pope Gregory upon the *Altus* is differently expressed in the three versions of its Preface, which have been already given at length¹. In the version given in our Dublin MS., the censure is put into the mouth of St. Columba's messenger (which is most probably a mistake of transcription in the MS.), but the censure itself is thus expressed,—“that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures”². In the *Leabhar Breacc* Pope Gregory is represented as stating his objection thus, “minus quam debuit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est.” But the Preface in Colgan's MS., or at least Colgan's translation of it, suggests a somewhat different sense; for Gregory, he says, “opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parcius in eo de Trinitate *disseruerit*, quam optaret”³. And again, in his version of the Preface to the Hymn now before us, he uses the same word, “quod parce *disseruerit* de sacrosancta Trinitate;” as if the objection was that the Hymn did not contain a sufficiently explicit declaration or exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity. But the meaning evidently is, that the author of the *Altus* did not celebrate *directly* the praises of the Almighty as such, but only His praises “in His creatures;” and the word *Trinity* is evidently used as equivalent to *Deus*, or the Deity, without any reference to the author's orthodoxy, or to his opinions on the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, which were not disputed.

It is remarkable that Colgan's version of the Preface to the following Hymn omits all notice of the curious statement made in the Irish Preface, now for the first time printed, that some doubted⁴ its genuineness, and that *many* were in the habit of reciting only lines 17–22 (or perhaps the meaning may be lines 17–25), as believing that portion of the Hymn only to be the genuine composition of St. Columcille.

In connexion with this doubt, it is remarkable that the Hymn plainly divides itself into two parts, the first of which ends (at line 16) with a doxology, exactly at the place where the genuine composition of St. Columba is said to begin,

¹ *At length*.—See Note A to the *Altus*, p. 220, sq.

² *Creatures*.—See p. 222.

³ *Thus*.—*Supra*, p. 224. The construction is “In eo memoratus est Deus, minus quam

debuit memorari.”

⁴ *Optaret*.—See p. 227.

⁵ *Doubted*.—The early record of such a doubt is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the Hymn.

and thus may seem to have been a distinct composition in itself. There is also this peculiarity, tending to the same conclusion, that in this first part the lines (with three exceptions) begin with the word *Deus*; whilst in the remainder of the Hymn every line (one excepted) begins with the word *Christus*.

Be this, however, as it may, it does not at first sight seem very clear how the Hymn can have been understood to have supplied the defect of the *Altus*, "quod parcius de Trinitate disseruerit;" for, with the exception of the Doxologies (lines 15, 16, and 26-29), there is no allusion in it to the Trinity as such, neither is there in it anything more express or distinct, considered as a confession of faith in the *doctrine* of the Trinity, than that contained in the first "Capitulum" of the *Altus*.

But we have seen that the objection to the *Altus* was, not that the author of the Hymn was unsound in faith, or in any way heterodox on the *doctrine* of the Trinity, but that in his Hymn he had not made the praise of the Trinity, i. e. of God Almighty, sufficiently prominent or direct; in other words, the real fault was, not that the *doctrine* of the Trinity was insufficiently acknowledged, but that the Hymn was mainly occupied in the praise of created things, or of God as Creator, and not so much in the direct praise of God in His essence and attributes.

In this point of view, the Hymn *In Te Christe* fully supplies the defect. It commences by a prayer to Christ, as God, to have mercy on all the faithful. It prays to God to make haste to help all those who are in labour or distress. And then it proceeds to praise God, as the Father of the faithful; the Life of the living; the God of all gods; the Virtue of all virtues; the Creator of all things; the Judge of judges; the Prince of princes; the God of the elements; the God of good help; the God of the heavenly Jerusalem; the King of glory; the God of the quick; the God of eternal light; the ineffable God; the High God, worthy of all love, inestimable, bountiful, long suffering, teacher of the teachable; the God who maketh all things, whether new or old.

With this supplement to the *Altus*, it could not possibly have been objected that there was in it "a scanty praise of the Trinity *per se*," that is, of God Almighty as such.

The Hymn then takes up the praise of Christ:—He is the Redeemer of the Gentiles; the Lover of virgins; the Fountain of the wise; the Faith of believers; the Breastplate of soldiers; the Creator of all things; the Health of the living; the Life of the dying: He hath crowned our army with a crowd

of Martyrs; He hath ascended the cross; He hath saved the world; He hath redeemed us, and suffered for us; He hath descended into hell; He hath ascended into heaven; He hath sat down with God (*ubi nunquam defuerat*) on that throne which, as God, He had never left.

This summary of the Hymn strongly confirms the opinion already expressed, that the defect which it was supposed to supply in the *Altus* was not a theological defect in the confession of Trinitarian doctrine, but a deficiency in the *direct* praise of God and of Christ.

The language of the Hymn is evidently ancient. Among its peculiarities may be noted the use of the pluperfect for the perfect; "Christus crucem ascenderat;" "mundum salvaverat;" "nos redemerat;" "cælum ascenderat." "Cum Deo sederat, ubi nunquam defuerat." This peculiarity will be observed also in the writings of Adamnan.



IN TE CHRISTE. Columcille doƿonai innimmonra. The nichim doƿononai, re pillaba
 dec in cech line. Acberac uº ƿairpen conach e Columcille ecir doƿononai [r] oca
 Chriſteur ƿedemptor 7 chriſteur cruicem, 7 ip aipe ima acberac multu illam
 ƿartem. Locur hi, tempur Aeda meic ainmirech. Caura apala ac ro
 nab con altur, 7 ipreb on ƿoinchrech Dregoir im Columcille opo
 chur



te christe credentium miserearis omnium
 tu es deus in secula seculorum in gloria

deus in adiutorium intende laborantium
 ad dolorum remedium festina in auxilium

deus pater credentium deus uita uiuentium
 deus deorum omnium deus uirtus uirtutum

deus formator omnium deus et iudex iudicium
 deus et princeps principum elementorum omnium

deus opis eximiae celestis hierusolimae
 deus rex regni in gloria deus ipse uiuentium

deus aeterni luminis deus inenarrabilis
 deus altus amabilis deus inestimabilis

1. *In te Christo*.—This Hymn has no gloss, except over the word *eximiae* (ver. 9), where the gloss, although nearly illegible, appears to be .i. *excelſa*.

3. *Laborantium*.—Are these words al- luded to in the preface to the *Altus*? see above, p. 221, note ^a.

6. *Virtutum*.—This anomaly is neces-

sary for the metre. C. reads, "Deus vir- tutis virtutum."

7. *Et iudex*.—C. omits *et* here and in the next line. But in both, *et* is necessary to the metre.

8. *Hierusolimae*.—Ierosolymæ, C.

11. *Inenarrabilis*.—This word is also used, line 91 of the preceding hymn.

Deus largus longanimis deus doctor docibilis
deus qui facit omnia noua cuncta et uetera

Dei patris in nomine filique sui prospere
sancti spiritus utique recto uado itenere 15

Christus redemptor gentium christus amator uirginum
christus pons sapientium christus fides credentium

Christus lorica militum christus creator omnium
christus salus uiuentium et uita morientium 20

Coronauit exercitum nostrum cum turba martirum
christus crucem ascenderat christus mundum saluauerat

Christus et nos redemeret christus pro nobis passus est
christus infernum penetrat christus caelum ascenderat

Christus cum deo seberat ubi nunquam defuerat 25

Gloria haec est altissimo deo patri ingenito
honor ac summo filio unico unigenito

Spirituique optimo sancto perfecto sedulo
amen fiat perpetua in sempiterna secula.

IN TE XPE CRE.

13. *Doctor docibilis*.—Teacher of the teachable man.

15. *Filius*.—Filiius, C.

16. *Itenere*.—Itinere, C. "I walk in the right way of God the Father, &c."

23. *Redemeret*.—Redemerat, C.

24. *Christus infernum*.—C. omits this line.

28. *Optimo*.—Optimo, C. *Sedulo*.—Amen, C.

29. *Perpetua*.—C. reads, "fiat et hæc perpetua, in sempiterna secula." At the end are added the words with which the hymn begins, according to the usual custom of Irish scribes, to show that the hymn ends here, and that the words that follow are no part of it. See above, p. 23, n., and see also p. 80, where the entire of the first verse of a Hymn is repeated at the end.

Πρωτεγατ νορ αλτιρριμυρ δε ρυιρ πανκτιρ ρεδιbury 30
 Dum ριβι ζμνορ canimur decim ρτατυριρ υιυιbury
 Sicque nobis ρρoπιτιury diebur atque noctibury.

31. *Ymnos*.—Hymnos, C. *Decim*.—Decem, C.

The last stanza, *Protegat nos*, is in the angular character already frequently mentioned. In the margin is the following note:—beich epatha do chelebrado colum cille ut pepunt. γ ιρα ρταιρ eoin cappion puc rom ρein, "Columcille used to celebrate ten canonical hours, as they say; and it was from John Cassian's history he took this." No mention is made of this custom of observing ten canonical hours, in the lives of St. Columba; but the "John Cassian" here quoted is evidently the celebrated John Cassian, who was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom (c. A. D. 404), and whose works on the monastic life and institutes were so widely read during the

middle ages. He was one of the first to propagate in the west, the eastern custom of fixed hours of prayer, afterwards called the canonical hours: *Instit.* lib. iii. c. 3. But it does not appear that *ten* such hours were enjoined by him. In the ancient church of Ireland, he was honoured as a saint on the 25th of November, at which day his name occurs in the *Felire*, or metrical calendar of Ængus the Culdee; but the more modern calendars of Marianus Gorman, of Tallaght, and of Donegal, make no mention of him; no doubt, in consequence of his having given currency to semipelagian opinions. On the Continent several churches were dedicated to him, and he was honoured as a saint in many places on the 23rd July. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xiv. p. 187.

XVI. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "NOLI PATER."

COLGAN has printed two copies of this Hymn: the one in his Abridgment of O'Donnell's *Life of Columba*¹, the other from his copy of the *Book of Hymns*². The former of these seems to be an extract only, as it ends with "&c.," and omits the last two quatrains, besides other variations which will be pointed out in the notes. The latter copy Colgan himself describes as "*paulo correctiorem, tametsi non plene correctum*"³, which implies he did not consider his copy of the *Book of Hymns* as perfectly accurate, although "*antiqua manu descriptus*." How far the present edition is an improvement on the two former, will appear from the following pages.

The account given by O'Donnell of the occasion upon which this Hymn was composed is evidently taken from the Preface to it in the *Book of Hymns*; both accounts are substantially the same. The Editor will not enter into any discussion of the difficulty, which this narrative has suggested, as to the date of the donation of Daire Calcaigh (now Londonderry) to St. Columba by Aedh, son of Ainmire. This subject has been examined by Dr. Reeves, and the supposed difficulty completely removed⁴; it will, therefore, only be necessary to give here a translation of the Preface, with some illustrative notes:—

Noli Pater. Columcille composed this Hymn, as he did the *In Te Christe*. The place was the door of Disert Daire Chalcaigh⁵. The time was the same⁶, viz., that of Aedh, son of Ainmire. The cause was this:—Once upon a time Columcille came to Daire to a conference⁷

¹ *Columba*.—Trias. Thaum., p. 397.

² *Hymns*.—Ibid., p. 476.

³ *Correctum*.—Ibid., p. 450, note 47.

⁴ *Removed*.—Reeves, Adamnan, pp. 160, 161, note.

⁵ *Disert Daire Chalcaigh*.—For the nature

of the monastic establishments, called *Deserts*, see Reeves, Adamnan, p. 366.

⁶ *The same*.—i. e. the same as that in which the Hymn *In te Christe* was composed.

⁷ *Conference*.—"Aliquando venit ad colloquium [i. e. colloquium] regis."

with the king, so that he [the king] granted him the fort, with its appurtenances. But Columcille refused the fort, because Móbí had prohibited him to receive anything of the world, until he had heard of his [Móbí's] death. But when Columcille afterwards came to the gate of the town, three² of the people of Móbí met him there, and they had Móbí's girdle with them, and they said, "Móbí is dead." And Columcille said :

Móbí's girdle! [Móbí's girdle]!
It closed not upon emptiness,
Moreover, it opened not upon satiety,
Nor did it shut upon falsehood.

Columcille went back to the king, and he said to the king, "The offering which thou gavest to me yesterday, give to me now." "I will give it," said the king. The town was then burned,

¹ *Móbí*.—i. e. St. Móbí Clairenech, or the flat-faced, otherwise called Berchan, abbot of Glas-naoidhen (now Glasnevin, near Dublin), who was for a time the tutor of St. Columba (*O'Donnell*, lib. i., c. 43, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 396). Móbí having been compelled to close his school in consequence of the breaking out of a pestilence, S. Columba, with the other scholars, was sent away, and took his journey towards Tírconnell, having first received from Móbí this injunction, "Ne quam terram aut fundum pro exedificando monasterio aut aliis usibus acceptaret, nisi de ipsius scitu et venia."—*O'Donnell*, ib., c. 46. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160. The ancient quatrain quoted above, in praise of Móbí's girdle, occurs in a poem entitled, *Itinerarium na páirpge o cólumcille in onoir cnepa Móbí*. "Itinerarium of the sea [i. e. verses to be recited on a journey on the sea], from Columkille, in honour of Móbí's girdle." An imperfect copy of this poem is preserved in the O'Clery MS. of Martyrologies, in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. The stanza with which we are concerned is given thus:—

Agro cníor Móbí,
níp bo reimmú imlo
níp norǵlað fírf fáit
'rínp maðað fírf ǵo.

"This is Móbí's girdle: it was not a bulrush round emptiness; it was not opened upon satiety, and it was not shut upon falsehood. In the Martyrology of Donegal, at Oct. 12, the stanza is given thus:—

Спíор Мобí [спíор Мобí]
nípbar fírbne imlo
níp norǵlaðcch nía fáit
nín maðað imǵo.

which differs from the former chiefly in spelling. The great difficulty is in the word *lua* or *lo*; in addition to the meaning given to it above, which seems to correspond best with the next line, it is interpreted in ancient glossaries .i. uirce, *water*; and .i. brat deirǵ, *a red cloak*. In the same glossaries, ǵo or ǵua is explained bpeǵ, *a lie, falsehood*.

² *Town*.—bale, "of the bally." The word does not mean what we would now call a *town*. "Town" is commonly used to this day in every part of Ireland, even by those who only speak English, to denote a place, a farm, a gentleman's demesne or property. There was no *town* (properly so called) at Derry, in St. Columba's time, but only a *dún*, or fort, the residence of a chieftain.

³ *Three*.—*O'Donnell* (*loc. cit.*, c. 48) says two. And so also the ancient Irish Life, quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160, note.

with everything that was in it. "This is foolish," said the king, "for if it were not burnt, there would never have been any lack of raiment or food therein." "There never shall be," said he [Columcille]; "from henceforth, whoever shall be in it, shall never be a night fasting." The fire, however, in consequence of its greatness, threatened to burn the whole Daire⁴, so that it was to save it, at that time, that this Hymn was composed. Or it was the Day of Judgment he had in view; or the fire of the festival of John⁵. And it is sung [*as a protection*] against every fire, and every thunder-storm, from that time forth; and whosoever sings it at bed time, and at rising, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine⁶ persons whom he desires [to protect]."

Colgan's version of the Preface is as follows:—

Noli pater indulgere. S. Columba Kille composuit hunc Hymnum stylo rythmico ex tempore. In Daire Chaldaich, seu Monasterio Dorensi, compositus fuit. Quidam dicunt, quod præ tremendi et extremi Judicii timore illum composuerit. Alii vero dicunt quod quando locum fundandi Monasterii, ab Aido Ainmirii filio, Hiberniæ Rege donatum, receperat, tanquam prophandum curaverat flammis absumi, ut sic Deo consecraretur; et cum incendii flamma per amœnum vicinum lucum, seu arboretum, depascendum vento et tonitruis perlata pertingeret, hinc Hymnum hunc composuerit, ad lucum illum ab incendii flammis præservandum. Duo privilegia recitantibus illum, pie creduntur a Domino concessa. Primum, quod præservet recitantes a fulminibus et tonitruis. Secundum, quod eos, qui consuescunt illum recitare vesperi, dum decumbunt, et mane quando surgunt, ab omni adversu casu protegat.

In the notes to the following Hymn, the various readings of the copy of it published in Colgan's version of O'Donnell's Life of St. Columba will be marked O'D.; and those of the copy printed by Colgan from his MS. of the Liber Hymnorum will be distinguished by the letter C.

⁴ *Daire*.—i. e. the whole wood; *Daire* is an oak wood. See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 19, note⁴, and p. 160, note.

⁵ *John*.—This is an allusion to the ancient custom of lighting fires on St. John's Eve. Paciaudius, in his learned work, *De cultu S. Johannis Baptistæ*, Romæ, 1755, 4^o, labours to defend this custom from the charge of a pagan origin, and derives it from our Lord's words (John, v. 35): "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens: vos autem voluistis ad horam exultare in luce ejus." But the Capitula of Charlemagne (lib. v., tit. 2) condemn the St. John's Eve fires as remnants of paganism, under the old German term of *nodfeuers*.

Pertz, iii. 17, and compare Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. i., p. 570, sq. (2^d edit.: Göttingen, 1844).

⁶ *The nine*.—This is obscure; a word at the end having been cut off by the binder. The meaning seems to be that the recitation of the Hymn will protect not only him who sings it, but any other nine persons whom he may desire so to serve. Colgan loosely renders the clause, "ab omni adverso casu protegat;" he probably took ἀντί to signify "persecution," but it seems to be a verb, and occurs *supra* p. 205, line 12. Ἀντί occurs also as an adjective, meaning *nequam*.—*Zeuss*. p. 247, line 17.

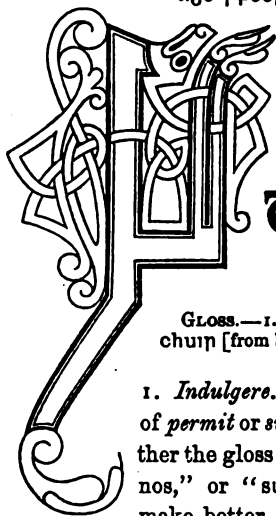


NOLI PATER. Columcille fecit hunc c̃mnum; eodem modo ut In te Xpe. Locup do-
pur d̃oir̃te d̃air̃i chalcas̃. Tempur̃ autem .i. Ãeda meic̃ annm̃ech. Caura, co-
lumeille aliquando uenit ab collocium neg̃ir̃ co d̃air̃e co poeb̃pñad in port̃ do
conair̃iub. Opar̃ iapum columcille in port̃, quia p̃p̃hibuit nob̃i im̃me accip̃ere
mundum co clop̃ad a  c.

Incan iapum canic columcille co dopur̃ in bale, ip̃ anñ r̃in dopala  riap̃ do muiñc̃ir̃
mob̃f d ,    riap̃ mob̃f occu,   d̃ix̃erunt, mox̃c̃uap̃  r̃e mob̃f;   d̃ix̃it columcille:

C̃riap̃ mob̃f [ riap̃ mob̃f]
ñi po iab̃ad im̃lua
rech̃ ñi po op̃laic b̃ r̃ia r̃   h
ñi po d̃uñad im̃g̃ua.

Luid columcille p̃op  lu cor̃m r̃  ,   d̃ix̃it p̃eg̃i: Inn  d̃p̃air̃e c̃ucair̃iu d̃am̃pa im̃b̃uap̃uc[h]
c̃uo d̃am̃ ñunc. Dob̃er̃chap, ap̃ in r̃  . Loir̃c  er̃  r̃   in baile cor̃p̃oneoch̃ bai and̃
uile.  r̃p̃ach̃ r̃in, ol̃ in r̃  , ap̃ mañi loir̃c  e, ñi biad̃ c̃acha b̃p̃oic̃ na b̃iud̃ anñ co
b̃r̃ach̃. biad̃ im̃op̃p̃o anñ o    m̃ im̃ma  h, ap̃   , in   biap̃ anñ ñi bia d̃ib  h [   . a   h]
 r̃p̃oir̃c  e. Tarp̃mair̃e  r̃a in tene  r̃a m  c̃ loir̃c  b̃ in d̃air̃e uile, conib̃  r̃a and̃-
c  l in cañ r̃in dop  ñad in  mmoñpa; no ip̃ lache b̃r̃acha dop̃ac̃ dia  r̃e; no tene
   le   m̃,   cañair̃     c  ch̃ t  nib̃       c  ch̃ t  p̃anñ o    m̃ ille,  r̃e    ap̃   -
l  ge      p̃  ge, no nana  ge ap̃    nib̃    ellan   ang  b̃ in nonb̃ur̃ ip̃ ail [doan  al]. . . .



POLI pater indulgere tonitrua cum pulgure
ac frangamur formidine huius atque uridine

Te timemus terribilem nullum credentes similem
te cuncta canunt carmina angelorum per ag-
mina

Gloss.—1. *Indulgere*.—i. nos. 2. *Huius*.—i. tonitruai. *Uridine*.—i. o    lorc  b̃ no a buir̃e-
chur̃ [from burning or from the yellow pestilence]. 3. *Similem*.—i. Deo. 4. *Canunt*.—i. laudant̃.

1. *Indulgere*.—Here used in the sense
of *permit* or *suffer*. It is doubtful whe-
ther the gloss over this word is not “in
nos,” or “super nos,” which would
make better sense than *nos*. “Suffer

not the thunder and lightning to fall
upon us.”

2. *Ac*.—Ne, O'D. and C. *Uridine*.—
Uredine, C.; O'D. reads *Viredine*, which
only can be the Irish spelling of *Uredine*,

Teque exultent culmina caeli uagī per fulmina
o ihesu amantissime o rex regum rectissime

5

benedictus in secula recta regens regimina
iohannes coram domino adhuc matris in utero

Repletus dei gratia pro uino atque siccera

elizabeth et zacharias uirum magnum genuit
iohannem baptizam precursorem domini

10

manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

GLOSSES.—5. *Exultent*.—i. fáilteugit [welcome]. 7. *Benedictus*.—i. es. 8. *Johannes*.—i. gratia Dei interpretatur. 9. *Repletus*.—i. est. *Siccera*.—i. sine cera. .i. non omni liquori ebrio excep omnis liquor dulcis sic. . . .

viz., uipevine; the u suffering what German philologists call *umlaut*, from the e of the following syllable.—*Zeuss. Gram. Celt.*, p. 18; *Ebel, Beiträge*, i. 164. There is no such word as *Viredo*.

4. *Cuncta*.—Juxta, O'D.

5. *Exultent*.—Exaltent, O'D. C. *Fulmina*.—Fulmina, C.

8. *Matris in*.—In Matris, O'D.

9. *Siccera*.—Sicera, O'D. C. O'Donnell's extract ends here. See Colgan;

Trias Thaum., p. 397. The gloss upon this word runs out into the margin of the page, and is partly illegible.

10. *Zacharias*.—Elizabeth Zachariæ, C.

11. *Baptizam*.—Babtistam, C. The use of *z* for *st* in our MS. has already been noticed. See above, p. 78, n. 31.

13. *Argenti*.—Argenteo, C. *Auri*.—Aurea, C. These readings are inconsistent with the metre.

XVII. THE PRAYER OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

THE following document is called "epistola" in one place, and "ymnus" in another, by the author of the Scholium or Preface; but it is really a prayer; and is said to have been uttered by St. John the Evangelist over the poisoned cup, offered to him by the heathen priest of Ephesus.

The Legend in which this prayer occurs, and which is given at length in the Preface, has appeared in two several works, both putting forth pretensions to great antiquity, although now universally admitted to be spurious, viz.: the *Acta Apostolorum, sive Historia certaminis Apostolici*, attributed to Abdias, first Bishop of Babylon; and the *Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*, ascribed to Mellitus, Bishop of Laodicea, or rather of Sardes.

The impostor who was the author of the former of these works calls himself a disciple of the Apostles, and professes to have been ordained first Bishop of Babylon by the Apostles themselves. He tells us also that he composed the work in the Hebrew language: that it was afterwards translated into Greek by his own disciple, Eutropius, and into Latin by Julius Africanus: "quæ Africanus Historiographus in Latinam transtulit linguam". These are the words of the author himself, who, whilst he pretends to have been a contemporary of the apostles, has made the singular blunder of attributing the translation of his work into Latin, to Africanus, a writer of the *third century*!

¹ *Linguam*.—Apost. Hist., lib. 6, fol. 83 (ed. by John Faber). Paris, 1571; 8°. And see the note of Fabricius on this passage.—*Cod. Apocr. N. Test.* II., p. 389, 629.

² *Third century*.—There are internal evidences that Latin was the original language of the book, and that the assertion of its having

been first written in Hebrew was a deliberate falsehood: for example, such plays upon words as "In nomine Domini mei JESU impetram non imperabam" (lib. ix. c. 21); "non everti, sed converti eam" (lib. viii. c. 8), could scarcely have been the language of a translator.

But it is unnecessary for the object of the Editor to discuss the question of the genuineness of a work, whose pretensions have now no defenders¹. Its author cannot have lived before the fifth century; he has uniformly quoted the modern Vulgate, and appears to have also used the Latin version of the writings of Eusebius². There is good reason to believe, however, that the Venerable Bede had seen these "Acts of the Apostles," for he seems to refer to them under the title of "Histories of the Passions of the Apostles." If so, it will follow that the Pseudo-Abdias cannot have lived *later* than the beginning of the eighth century. The passage in the writings of Bede referred to is the following:—"Hos [Simonem scil. Zelotem, et Judam Jacobi] referunt Historiæ in quibus apostolorum passiones continentur, et a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ, prædicasse in Perside, ibique a templorum pontificibus in civitate Suanir occisos, gloriosum subiisse martyrium"³. The Pseudo-Abdias relates the story of the martyrdom of SS. Simon and Jude, in the city of Suanir in Persia, in exact accordance with Bede's citation, which renders it probable that the "Historiæ in quibus Apostolorum passiones continentur," referred to by him, was no other than the "Historia certaminis Apostolici" now extant, especially as we do not find elsewhere any mention of the city of Suanir. If so, we see that, even at that time, the work was generally rejected as spurious, "a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ"⁴.

The "Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ" attributed to Mellitus, has still

¹ *Defenders*.—The authorities are collected in the *Testimonia et Censuræ* prefixed to the *Historia* of Abdias, by Joh. Alb. Fabricius, *Codex Apocr. N. Test.*, Hamburg, 1703, tom. ii. p. 388, sq.; see also Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 488; Coci, *Censura*, p. 82, sq.; Baronii *Annal.*, A. D. 51, N^o. 51.

² *Eusebius*.—See Abdias, lib. vi. c. 4, and Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 597, not. ^a. Fabricius has given the following negative opinion as to the age of this author: "Neque tantæ mihi videtur hoc scriptum antiquitatis, ut Hieronymis et Augustinis possit de ætate contendere. Nam ex veteribus nemo ejus meminit, et scribendi genus ipsum, et usus familiarior Vulgatæ ac versionum Rufini sequiorem ætatem arguunt."

³ *Martyrium*.—Bede, *Retract. in Actt. Apostt.* i. 13 (Opp. tom. xii., p. 90, ed. Giles.)

⁴ *Suanir*.—Abdias, *Hist. Apostol.*, lib. v. c. 20, sq. Fabricius says: "De civitate Persidis cui nomen Suanir, altum apud veteres silentium."—*Ubi supr.*, p. 744. Tillemont suggests that Suanir may be a city of the Suani or Surani, mentioned by Pliny. *Mém.*, t. i., p. 400.

⁵ *Apocryphæ*.—See Oudin. *De Scriptoribus Eccles.*, tom. ii. 418, sq., where the arguments against the genuineness of the work are stated. Oudin, however, fixes A. D. 910, as the date of the Pseudo-Abdias, not being aware that the book was known to Bede, and that, therefore, it must have been extant before A. D. 735, when Bede died.

less pretensions to antiquity. Eusebius¹ mentions an eminent saint and writer, Mellitus, or Melito, Bishop of Sardes in Lydia (A.D. 170), and gives an account of his numerous writings, none of which are now extant. It is probable, therefore, that the author of the Passion of St. John, under the name of Mellitus, intended to personate this Melito of Sardes, although he has styled himself "Mellitus servus Christi Episcopus Laudiciæ" (i. e. Laodiceæ); but in another Apocryphal book², "*De transitu Mariæ*," which is generally supposed to be by the same author, he has called himself "Melito servus Christi et episcopus ecclesiæ Sardensis," intending, no doubt, the Melito of Sardes, mentioned by Eusebius, and from Eusebius, by S. Jerome⁴.

It is not easy to fix the precise date of this Pseudo-Melito, or Mellitus. The book, *De obitu* [or *transitu*] *beatæ Mariæ*, is twice referred to by the Ven. Bede (*Retractt. in Actt.*, c. viii., xiii.), and in both cases with strong censure. That book, therefore, must be older than the eighth century; and so will fix the date of the "*Passio S. Johannis Evang.*," if we assume that both works, as both bearing the name of Mellitus, or Melito, are by the same author³.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup occurs in the *Apostolica Historia* of Abdias, and also in the *Passio S. Johannis* of Mellitus, in nearly the same words, and it is evident that one of these writers (if they be different) must have copied from the other, or both from some common source. This Legend is given in the Irish Preface to the following Prayer, with some variations from the narratives of Abdias and Mellitus, which will be pointed out in the Additional Notes, so far as they are of any importance.

There is a valuable (although not perfect) MS. of the Pseudo-Abdias in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (G. 4. 16) which is probably of the tenth or early part of the eleventh century. The story of St. John and the poisoned cup from the text of this MS. will be found in Note B, p. 272, *infra*.

In the artistic representations of St. John in the pictures and stained glass of the middle ages, he is frequently represented holding in his hand a cup, or

¹ Eusebius.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 26, who calls him Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος.

² Styled himself.—J. A. Fabricii, *ubi supra*, part iii., p. 604.

³ Book.—Fabricius. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

⁴ S. Jerome.—De Viris Illustribus, cap. 24.

⁵ Author.—Ceillier says (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. ii., p. 79), speaking of the tract, *De obitu B Mariæ*, "L'Auteur paroît être le même que celui du livre qui a pour titre : *La Passion de S. Jean l'Evangeliste* sous le nom de Mellitus, Evêque de Laodicée." See also Fabricius, *loc. cit.*

chalice, sometimes a serpent, sometimes a demon, is seen issuing from the chalice. These representations are evidently founded on the Legend with which we are concerned; the serpent, or demon, representing the flight of the deadly influence from the poisoned cup.

A translation of the Scholiast's preface will be found in Note A, p. 271, *infra*. It is to be regretted that some words in this preface, and particularly the passage with which it concludes, are now illegible in our MS.

vipera et rubeta illa quae dicitur rana quieta torpes-
cit scorpius extingitur regulus vincitur et spelagius nil

Gloss.—5. *Vipera*.—i. e. vi parens, .i. dente nocet. *Quieta*.—i. antach .i. blebml. 6. *Regulus*.
—i. anela nocet. *Spelagius*.—i. uestigio nocet.

5. *Vipera*.—The etymology in the gloss, “vi parens,” is an allusion to the ancient popular opinion as to the parturition of the viper, which is thus described by Isidorus Hispalensis:—“Vipera dicta, quod vi pariat. Nam, quum venter ejus ad partum ingemuerit, catuli non expectantes naturæ maturam solutionem corrosis eius lateribus vi erumpunt cum matris interitu.”—*Etymol.* lib. xii. cap. iv. n. 10. (*Opp.* tom. iv., p. 65. *Romæ*. 1801.) *Rana*.—“Ex iis [ranis, sc.] quædam aquaticæ dicuntur, quædam palustres, quædam rubetæ, ob id quia in vepribus vivunt grandiores cunctorum.”—*Isid. Hispal.*, ibid., cap. vi. n. 58 (*Opp.* ib. p. 85). *Quieta*.—Over this word occurs the gloss in Irish, which is given above, and which, probably, may have been intended to explain *Draco*, although, for want of room, written under instead of over that word. But it may have been intended to explain *rana*, an animal then, perhaps, unknown in Ireland. The word *antach* occurs, p. 206, *supra* (line 10), as a gloss on the word “otiosa.” Mr. Curry thinks that it signifies here the *remora*, or *echinois*. *blebml* is a *whale*; *bleb*, a whale; “gl. pistrix; gl. bellua marina” (*Zeuss*, p. 100); *ml*, a beast; Welsh, *ml*. So that the author of the gloss, having no idea of a frog or toad, imagined it to be a sea monster, a whale, or *remora*: an animal able to stop the progress of a ship at sea, by ad-

hering to the keel. In O'Davoren's glossary we have “*bleth* .i. mil mór [a whale]; *blaid*, i. e. muir [the sea], ut est *blaidh-mil*” [a sea-beast]. Stokes, *Three Old-Irish Glossaries*, pp. 59, 61. *Torpescit*.—In the margin are these words: “Coluber cinere, scorpius cauda silius [? *basiliscus*, or *sibilus*] ossibus post mortem nocet, serpens lingua [i. e. lingua] nocet.” These descriptions are not from Isidore, who says, however, “Sibilus idem est qui regulus. Sibilo enim occidit, antequam mordeat vel exurat.”—*Etym.* xii., c. iv., n. 9.

6. *Regulus*.—Is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *Basiliscus*, and denotes the same serpent:—“Basiliscus græce, latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod rex serpentum est, adeo ut eum videntes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat; nam et hominem vel si aspiciat interimit. Siquidem ad ejus aspectum nulla avis volans illæsa transit, sed quamvis procul sit, ejus ore combusta devoratur.”—*Isid. Etym.*, xii., cap. iv. n. 6 (*Opp.* ut *supr.*, p. 64). This explains the gloss, “.i. anela [for *anhela*] nocet;” (*anhela* taken as a subst.), “by breathing hurts.” In the margin there is the following note:—“Regulus, .i. rex omnium serpentium, nulla avis uolans uiso eo potest euadere i. peste. et tamen mustella eum occidit.” This seems from Isidore, who adds, after the words above quoted, “A mustelis tamen vincitur:

noxium operatur et omnia uenenata et adhuc perociora
 repentia et animalia noxia tenebrantur et omnes aduer-
 sae salutis humanae radices arescunt. tu extingue hoc ue-
 nenatum uirus. et extingue operationes eius mortiperas et
 uires quas in se habet euacua et da in conspectu tuo om-
 nibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut au-
 deant, cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant, amen. ma-
 theus marcus lucas iohannes.

Gloss.—10. *Operationes*.—1. ueneni.

quas illi homines inferunt cavernis, in quibus delitescit.”—*Ibid.*, n. 7, p. 65.

6. *Spelagius*.—Pseudo-Melito and Pseudo-Abdias, as printed by Fabricius, both read *phalangius*; but the Dublin MS. of the latter has *sphalangius*: this is the *phalangium* (φαλάγγιον) or venomous spider of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 27, et alibi; Vegetius, *De Re Vet.*, iii. 80 (al. 81), where some edd. have *sphalangis*. The gloss, “vestigio nocet,” seems to intimate that

this spider insinuates his poison by merely crawling over the flesh.

12. *Audeant*.—This is only the Irish orthography of *e* for *i*; for *audiant*. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, *Pref.*, p. xvi., xvii.

13. *Matheus*.—This is a curious example of the ancient custom of invoking the names of the Evangelists, as a protection against evil: “Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, Bless the bed that we lye on.”

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THIS Preface is written in the same mixture of Latin and Irish which we have already had occasion to notice in the other Prefaces. The following is a literal translation :—

Deus meus. John, son of Zebedee, composed this Epistle. In Ephesus it was composed. In the time of Domitian it was composed. This was the cause :—There was a great contest between John and Aristodemus, the priest of the Temple of Diana, so that John said to Aristodemus, "Let us go, O Aristodemus," said he, "to the Temple of Christ, which is in the city, and pray thou there to Diana that the Temple may fall, and I will go with thee afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and I will pray to Christ that it may fall; and if the Temple of Diana shall fall for me, then Christ is better than Diana, and it will be right for thee to worship Christ henceforth." "Let this be done," said Aristodemus. They went then to the Temple of Christ. Aristodemus^a prayed for three hours to Diana; and, nevertheless, the Temple of Christ fell not. They went afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and John prayed that it might fall, and it fell immediately. And Aristodemus sought to kill John; but durst not, owing to the number of the Christians.

"Is there^b anything that would banish doubt from thee, O Aristodemus?" said John. "There is," said he; "if thou drink a full cup of ale [mixed] with poison, and if thou shalt not be dead, I will at once believe in thy God;" and John said, "Bring it hither, it shall be given," said he. "But let it be given to the prisoners, who are about to be put to death by the king now, for it is not better to die by the sword than by poison." Aristodemus said this that John might fear; and first he gave the poison to a dog^c, and it died immediately; and after the dog he gave to an ape, and it died likewise; and afterwards the draught was given to them [i. e. to the prisoners], and they died immediately. And so he gave it to

^a *Aristodemus.*—From this word to the end of the paragraph is in Latin.

^b *Is there.*—The next words are Irish, to the word "*ale*;" then Latin, to "it shall be given;" then Irish, to the words "to be put to death by the

king now;" the remainder is Latin.

^c *To a dog.*—There is nothing about these experiments upon the dog and the ape in the original Legend, as given by the Pseudo-Abdias and Mellitus. See Add. Note B.

John; and John said then, *Deus meus, Pater, &c.*, and he drank, and it did him no hurt. And this is the cause of the composition^d of this hymn; and they who had died of the poison were raised, and so Aristodemus believed, and many others with him. And if any one shall sing this Hymn over drink, or anything that might prove injurious, it will restore him to health [or render it harmless.]

"At the end of every year there is elected out of the people a holy youth, without stain of sin, that"

The remaining words are illegible; a few letters here and there are visible, but the deficiency can only be supplied by conjecture. Dr. O'Donovan suggests, "ut tondeatur in f [i. e. in feria] Johannis, et ungetur eius circum" or "ut tondeat eum episcopus Johanni et unges[?] eius circum" The name Mael-eoin, which signifies "tonsured to John," or in honour of John (now anglicized *Malone*), is common in Ireland, and bears testimony to the ancient custom of tonsuring in honour of St. John.

NOTE B.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup.

The following is the Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup, as it is given in the "Historia certaminis Apostolici" of the Pseudo-Abdias. The text is taken from the ancient MS. of this work, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, collated with the printed text of Abdias, as given by Fabricius, and also with that of the "Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ" by the Pseudo-Mellitus^f, as published by the same author: the readings of Abdias, in the edition of Fabricius, will be denoted by the letter A, those of Mellitus, by M.

The history of St. John is the fifth book of the work of Abdias, and the following story is the eighth section or chapter in the MS., the nineteenth in the edition of Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* ii., p. 573). The "Passio S. Joannis Evangelistæ," by Mellitus, was printed by Franciscus Maria Florentinius, *Martyrol. S. Hieronymi*, p. 130, and reprinted by Fabricius (*Op. cit.* iii., p. 604).

.viii. Cum autem omnis ciuitas ephesiorum, immo omnis provincia asiæ iohannem excoleret^h et prædicaret, accidit ut cultores idolorum, exitarent seditionem. Unde factum est ut iohannem traherent ad tem-

^d *Composition.* — Here the one word, dénnm, "of making, or composition" [*nom. dénum*], is Irish, all the rest being Latin.

* *Dublin.* — See above, p. 266.

^f *Mellitus.* — See p. 265-6, *supra*.

^g *Cum autem.* — A. reads "Dum hæc fierent apud Ephesum et omnes indies magis magisque Asiæ provinciæ Joannem et excolerent et prædicarent, accidit," &c.

^h *Excoleret.* — Excolerent et prædicarent, A. M.

plum dians, et urgerent eum ut ei foeditatem sacrificiorum offeret. Tunc¹ beatus iohannes ait; ducam¹ uos omnes ad² ecclesiam domini ihu xpi: et inuocantes¹ nomen eius, faciam cadere templum hoc, et comminui idolum uestrum. Quod cum³ factum fuerit, iustum uobis⁴ uideri debet: ut relicta superstitione eius rei, quæ a deo meo uicta est, et confracta: ad ipsum⁵ conuertamini; Ad hanc uocem conticuit populus⁶: et licet essent pauci qui contradicerent huic diffinitioni: pars tamen maxima adsensum⁷ adtribuit. Tunc beatus iohannes blandis alloquiis exhortabatur populum: ut a templo longe se facerent. Cumque uniuersi exteriore⁸ parte foris exissent, uoce clara omnibus⁹ dixit. Ut sciat omnis hæc turba quia idolum hoc dians uestre¹⁰ demonium est et non deus, corruat cum omnibus manu factis idolis, quæ coluntur in eo: ita ut¹¹ nullam in hominibus læsionem faciat. Continuo ad hanc uocem apostoli omnia simul cum templo suo idola ita corruerunt ut efficerentur sicut pulvis quem proicit¹² uentus a facie terræ. Conuersi sunt¹³ eadem die duodecim milia gentilium exceptis paruulis et mulieribus et baptismatis¹⁴ sunt consecrati uirtute. Tunc aristodimus qui erat pontifex omnium¹⁵ idolorum repletus spiritu nequissimo excitauit seditionem in populo ita ut populus contra populum pararetur in bellum. Sed beatus¹⁶ iohannes ait; Dic mihi aristodime quid faciam ut tollam indignationem de animo tuo. Cui¹⁷ aristodimus dixit¹⁸. Si uis ut credam deo tuo dabo tibi uenenum bibere; quod cum biberis si non fueris mortuus apparebit uerum esse deum tuum. Cui sanctus apostolus ait¹⁹. Venenum si dederis mihi bibere inuocato nomine domini mei non poterit nocere me²⁰: Cui aristodimus²¹ ait; Prius est ut uideas²² bibentes et statim morientes ut uel sic possit cor tuum ab hoc poculo²³ formidare²⁴. Cui¹ beatus iohannes respondit. Iam dixi tibi tu paratus esto credere in dominum²⁵ ihu xpm cum²⁶ me uideris post ueneni poculum sanum. Perrexit itaque aristodimus ad proconsulem: et statuens²⁷ eos in medio foro, coram omni²⁸ populo in

¹ Tunc.—Inter hæc, A.

² Ducam.—Ducamus omnes eos, A.

³ Ad.—In ecclesia Domini mei, M.

⁴ Et inuocantes.—Et inuocantes nomen Diaus vestre¹⁰ facite cadere ecclesiam ejus, et consentiam uobis. Si autem hoc facere non potestis, ego inuoco nomen Domini mei Jesu Christi, et faciam, &c., M. Et cum invocaveritis, A.

⁵ Cum.—Ubi, A. Cum fuerit (omitting factum), M.

⁶ Vobis.—Nobis, A.

⁷ Ad ipsum.—Ad id ipsum, A.

⁸ Populus.—Omnis populus, M.

⁹ Adsensum.—Consensum, A. M.

¹⁰ Exteriore.—Et interiore, M.

¹¹ Omnibus.—Voce clara clamauit, A. Voce clara coram omnibus dixit, M.

¹² Vestre.—Omit, M.

¹³ Ita ut.—Ita tamen ut, A.

¹⁴ Projicit.—Projecit, A.

¹⁵ Conuersi sunt.—Conuersi sunt autem eo die, M. Itaque conuersa sunt eadem die, A.

¹⁶ Baptismatis.—Et baptizati sunt consecrati vir-

tute, M. Et baptizati sunt a beato Joanne et uirtute consecrati, A.

¹⁷ Omnium.—Omit, M. Quæ cum animadverteret Aristodemus, qui erat Pontifex omnium illorum idolorum, A.

¹⁸ Sed beatus . . . ait.—Ad quem conuersus Joannes, Dic mihi Aristodeme (inquit), A.

¹⁹ Cui.—Omit, M.

²⁰ Dixit.—Omit, A.

²¹ Ait.—Cui apostolus ait, M. Respondit Apostolus, A.

²² Nocere me.—Nocere non poterit, A. Non poterit nocere mihi, M.

²³ Aristodimus.—Cui rursus Aristodemus, A.

²⁴ Ut uideas.—Volo ut prius uideas, A.

²⁵ Poculo.—Periculo, M.

²⁶ Formidare.—Abhorrere, A.

²⁷ Cui.—Ad quem beatus Joannes, jam antea dixi tibi, quia paratus sum bibere ut credas, A.

²⁸ In dominum.—In Dominum meum, M.

²⁹ Cum.—Dum, M.

³⁰ Decollandi.—De quibus debebat ultimum supplicium sumi, A.

conspectu apostoli^o fecit eos bibere uenenum: qui mox ut biberent^r spiritum exalauerunt^r. Tunc dicit aristodimus 'Audi me' iohannes: et¹ aut recede ab ista doctrina qua deorum^a cultura reuocasti^r populum, aut accipe et bibe: ut ostendes^w omnipotentem esse deum tuum si postea quam biberis, potueris incolumis permanere. Tunc beatus iohannes iacentibus mortuis his qui uenenum biberant intrepidus^a et constans accepit calicem et signaculum crucis faciens in eo^r dixit. Deus meus^r et pater domini mei^a ihu xpe cuius uerbo caeli firmati sunt, cui omnia subiecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est et metuit^b et expauescit. Cum^c nos te ad auxilium inuocamus, cuius audito nomine serpens conquiescit. Draco fugit, silet uipera, et rubeta illa quas dicitur rana inquiet^a [sic] torpescit, scorpius^e extinguitur, regulus uincitur, et sphalangius^f nihil noxium operatur, et^g omnia uenenata^h et adhuc ferociora repentia et animalia noxia te reuerenturⁱ et omnes^j aduersas salutis humane radices arescunt. Tu^k extingue hoc uenenosum^l uirus, extingue operationes eius^m mortiferas et uires quas in se habet euacua, et daⁿ in conspectu tuo^o omnibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut audiant^p et cor ut magnitudinem tuam intellegant, et cum hoc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit^q signo crucis et bibit totum quod erat in calice et postea quam bibit dixit. Peto ut propter quos bibi conuertantur ad te domine et salutem quam^r [sic] te est te inluminante mereantur. Attendente autem^s populo iohannem per tres horas uultum habere hilarem et nulla penitus signa palloris aut trepidationis habentem clamare coeperunt^t. Vnus deus uerus est quem colit iohannes. Aristodimus autem^u nec sic credebat sed populos objurgabat eum; Ille autem conuersus

^a *Et statuens.*—Quos cum statuisset, A.

^b *Omi.*—Omit, M.

^c *In conspectu Apostoli.*—Omit, M. Aspiciente Apostolo, A.

^d *Biberent.*—Qui mox biberunt, M. Qui mox ut biberunt, A.

^e *Exalauerunt.*—Exhalauerunt, M.

^f *Tunc dicit.*—Tunc dixit, M. Tunc conuersus ad Joannem Aristodemus: Audi me (inquit) et recede, A.

^g *Me.*—Omit, M.

^h *Et.*—Omit, M.

ⁱ *Qua deorum.*—The MS. at first had *qua eorum*, but a later hand has inserted *d*. Qua a deorum, A. M.

^j *Revocasti.*—Revocas, A.

^k *Ostendes.*—Ostendas, A. M.

^l *Intrepidus.*—Ut intrepidus, A.

^m *In eo.*—Omit, A.

ⁿ *Deus meus.*—Deus meus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus cui omnia subiecta sunt, M.

^o *Mei.*—Nostri, A.

^p *Et metuit.*—Quem et metuit, A.

^q *Cum.*—Itaque, A.

^r *Inquieta.*—Inquieta, A. Quieta, M.

^s *Scorpius.*—Et scorpius, M.

^t *Sphalangius.*—Phalangius, A. M.

^u *Et.*—Denique, M.

^v *Venenata.*—Venena, A.

^w *Reuerentur.*—This word is inserted over an erasure, by a hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The original reading of this MS. was probably *tenebrantur*, as in the *Liber Hymnorum* and M., or *terabrantur*, as in A.

^x *Et omnes.*—This clause to "arescunt" is omitted in A.

^y *Tu.*—Tu inquam ille, A.

^z *Venenosum.*—Venenum, M.

^{aa} *Ejus.*—Omit, M.

^{ab} *Et da.*—Omit, M.

^{ac} *Tuo.*—Omit, M.

^{ad} *Audiant.*—M. omits "aures ut audiant."

^{ae} *Armavit.*—Et cum hæc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit, &c., A. Et cum dixisset totum semetipsum ornauit signo crucis, et bibit omne quod erat in calice, M.

^{af} *Quam.*—Quas, A. M.

^{ag} *Autem.*—Omit, A. Attendentes autem populi, M.

^{ah} *Coeperunt.*—Voce magna coepit, A.

^{ai} *Autem.*—Tamen ne sic quidem credebat populo objurgante hunc, A.

ad iohannem dixit, inest^r mihi adhuc dubietas^r, sed si istos qui hoc ueneno^a mortui sunt in nomine dei tui excita ueris emundabitur ab omni dubietate^r meus mea; Populiⁱ autem insurgabant in aristodimum dicentes; incendimus et te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra apostolum^a tuo sermone fatigare; Videns autem iohannes acerrime seditionem fieri petiit silentium et^b omnibus audientibus ait; Prima est quam de virtutibus diuinis imitari^c debemus patientia, per quam ferre possumus incredulorum insipientiam; unde si adhuc aristodimus ab infidelitate tenetur, soluamus nodos infidelitatis eius et licet tarde faciamus^d eum agnoscere creatorem suum; Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere quo medella^e citius possit eius uulneribus provenire^f; et sicut medici habentes inter manus aegrum medella^g indigentem, ita etiam nos si adhuc curatus non est^h de eo quod factum est; Et conuocans ad se aristodimum dedit ei tunicam suam, ipse uero pallio amictus coepit stare; Cui ait aristodimus ut quid dedisti mihi tunicam tuam; Dicit ei iohannes; ut uel sic confusus a tua infidelitate credasⁱ; Cui aristodimus ait, et quomodo me tunica tua faciet^j ab infidelitate recedere. Cui respondit apostolus. Uade et mitte eam super corpora defunctorum et dices ita; Apostolus domini mei^k ihu xpi misit me ut in eius nomine exurgatis ut cognoscant omnes^l quia uita et mors famulantur domino meo ihu xpo. Quod cum fecisset aristodimus et uidisset eos exsurgere adorans iohannem festinus perrexit ad proconsulem, &c.

It is unnecessary to transcribe more of this story, as we have here all of it that is required for the illustration of our Irish Scholiast, proving that the Abadian or Mellitan Legends must have been the authority from which he derived his materials. It will be seen that the text of Mellitus agrees more nearly with that of the ancient Dublin MS. of Abdias than with the text printed by Fabricius; but it is certain that they are in reality, so far as this Legend is concerned, the same, and not two different works.

^r *Inest*.—Deest mihi adhuc hoc unum, quod si istos, A.

^a *Dubietas*.—Dubitatio, M.

^a *Hoc ueneno*.—Per hoc venenum, M.

ⁱ *Dubietate*.—Incredulitate, M. Dubio, A.

ⁱ *Populi*.—Quæ cum dixisset, plebs insurgabat in Aristodemum dicens, A.

^a *Apostolorum*.—Incendimus te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra Apostolum Dei in tuo sermone facere laborare, M. Incendimus te et domum tuam si pergas ulterius apostolum sermonibus tuis fatigare, A.

^b *Et*.—M. omits "petiit silentium et."

^c *Imitari*.—Prima est de virtutibus Diuinis quam videmur imitari patientiam, M.

^d *Faciamus*.—Faciamus tamen eum, M. Soluamus nodos infidelitatis ejus. Cogetur, quantumvis sero, agnoscere, A.

^e *Medella*.—Sic a primâ manu: but the first *l* has been erased by a later hand. The same is the case wherever this word occurs.

^f *Provenire*.—Non enim cessabo hoc opere, quomodo ejus possit uulneribus provenire, M. Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere donec medella ejus possit uulneribus opitulari, A.

^g *Medella*.—Varia medela, M.

^h *Non est*.—Non est Aristodemus his quæ facta modo sunt, curabitur illis quæ jam faciam, A. Non est, ideoque quod factum non est aliud faciamus, M.

ⁱ *Credas*.—This word has been altered by a more recent hand to *recedas* (as in A): the *c* being erased and *ce* inserted. Discedas, M.

^j *Faciet*.—Facit, M.

^k *Mei*.—Nostri, A. M.

^l *Omnes*.—Ut in nomine Dei ejus surgatis et cognoscant homines, &c., M.

There is nothing, however, either in Mellitus or in Abdias to correspond with the concluding paragraph of the Irish preface, where we read of a holy youth elected annually from the people of Ephesus, who (if our conjectural reading of the concluding very obscure words be correct) was to be tonsured in honour of St. John. The Editor has been unable to find anything like this in any other authority.

XVIII. THE EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO ABGARUS, KING OF EDESSA.

THIS celebrated Epistle, together with the Letter of Abgarus to Christ, to which it professes to be a reply, was first made known to the Church by Eusebius, the great ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century. He tells us expressly that he had them from the records of Edessa, the city of which Abgarus¹ was the "toparch" or governor; and that down to his own time the documents were preserved amongst the antiquarian muniments of Edessa. He states also that the original letters were written in Syriac, and that he had introduced them into his History, translated from the originals into Greek².

¹ *Abgarus*.—Written *Abagarus* by Rufinus, and in the supposed Decree of Gelasius. Eusebius and others spell the name *Agbarus*; and it is remarkable that (at least in Valesius's edition of Eusebius) the name is spelled *Agbarus*, everywhere except in the Epistles themselves, where we have *Abgarus*. Valesius prefers the former spelling, because the word *Akbar* in Arabic signifies *powerful, great* (Heb. גבר), and the name is said to have been common to all the reguli of Edessa, as Pharaoh to the Kings of Egypt. But in the Syriac Chronicle of Bar Hebræus, the name is always *Abgar*, which Bernstein, in his Syriac Lexicon, derives from the Armenian *Avag-air* (primarius, insignis), an etymology much more probable, considering the geographical position of Edessa, than the derivation from Arabic. The idea of a correspondence between our Lord and Ab-

garus, may have been suggested by Matt. iv. 24,—“And his fame went through all Syria.”

But on the whole of this history, and on the name, see Theoph. Siegfr. Bayer, *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena, ex numis illustrata*, lib. ii. p. 73, sq., lib. iii. p. 95.

² *Greek*.—The following are the words of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13:—“Ἐχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραφτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἑδίσσαν το τῆνικαῦτα βασιλευομένων πόλιν γραμματοφυλακείων ληφθείσαν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτόθι δημοσίοις χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγβαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσεῖται καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὔρηται. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον καὶ αὐτῶν ἱπακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν, καὶ τὸνδε αὐτοῖς ῥημασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεισῶν τὸν τρόπον. Then follows the Epistle itself.

It is unnecessary for the purposes of the present work to enter at length into the question of the authenticity or genuineness of the Epistles. That Eusebius believed¹ in them, and that they were received as genuine in the East for some time, are facts not to be doubted. But it is evident that neither St. Jerome nor St. Augustine had any faith in their authenticity. On the contrary, both those Fathers declare expressly that our blessed Lord left nothing of His own writing². They are not mentioned by St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, or any of the Fathers of the two centuries after Eusebius.

In modern times, however, eminent names are to be found on both sides of the controversy. Amongst the divines of the Church of England—Bishop Montague, Grabe, and Cave; amongst those of the Church of Rome—Baronius, Schelstraet, Tillemont, Asseman, and others, have advocated the genuineness, or probable genuineness, of the Epistles. On the other side are Bellarmin, Natalis Alexander, Erasmus, Melchior Canus, Simon, J. A. Fabricius, Ceillier, and many others³.

The Epistles are condemned in the celebrated Decree usually attributed to Pope Gelasius, and published in the collections of Councils as part of the Acts

¹ *Believed*.—See his *Eccl. Hist.*, ii. c. i.

² *Of His own writing*.—So St. Jerome in Ezek. xliv. 29, 30. "Salvator nullam volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt, sed Patris et suo Spiritu quotidie loquitur in corde credentium." This testimony is the stronger, because it shows that he was aware of the existence of apocryphal writings attributed to our Lord. And so also St. Augustine, in a passage where he seems almost to allude to this very Epistle to Abgarus:—"Si enim prolatae fuerint aliquæ literæ, quæ nullo alio narrante ipsius Christi esse dicantur; unde fieri poterat ut si vere ipsius essent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non præcipuo culmine auctoritatis eminerent in ejus ecclesia, quæ ab ipso per apostolos, succedentibus sibi met episcopis, usque ad hæc tempora propagata dilatatur; etc."—*Contra Faustum*, lib.

xxviii. c. 4 (*Ed. Bened.*, tom. viii., 439); and this is indeed an argument against the genuineness of the Epistle which seems very difficult to answer.

³ *Many others*.—An excellent summary of the literature of the Epistles, with references to the authorities on both sides, will be found in the learned work of the Rev. Richard Gibbings, entitled "*Roman Forgeries and Falsifications*," although, how these Epistles came to be *Roman* forgeries, he does not explain. The reader will find almost everything in Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. Novi Test.*, tom. i., p. 316*; and in Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. i., p. 474, sq.; add also Carpzov. *Comment. Critica in libros N. Test.*, § xix. Lips. 1730; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i., p. 2, sq. (*Oxon.* 1740); and Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, ch. i. (Works by Dr. Kippis, vol. vi. p. 596.)

of a Synod¹ of seventy Bishops held at Rome, A. D. 494 or 496. Here we read, "Epistola Jesu ad Abagarum regem apocrypha. Epistola Abagari² ad Jesum apocrypha."

From this it appears that if the Decree of Gelasius be a genuine Decree of that Pope, it was probably unknown, or at least not received³, in the Church of Ireland, when the MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* was written. For the *Epistola Jesu* is manifestly assumed to be genuine, and was apparently read, as a Lesson, in the Irish Church in some office of public or private devotion. This, it need scarcely be observed, did not imply the reception of the Epistle as *Canonical* Scripture, but such use of it was clearly inconsistent with the Gelasian decree, where the condemnation of the document as *Apocryphal* must have signified a prohibition. When such eminent modern scholars, however,

¹ *Synod*.—Pagi gives 496 as the date of this Synod, *Crit. in Ann. Baronii*. There is, however, much doubt as to the antiquity of the Acts of this Council, and even as to the name of the Pope by whose Decree the Apocryphal books were condemned: some copies attributing it to Pope Damasus, others to Hormisdas, but the majority to Gelasius. Even the text of the Decree is unsettled, and has been largely interpolated.

² *Abagari*.—Some copies omit the words "Epistola Abgari ad Jesum apocrypha." This omission occurs in the *Decretum Gratiani*, Dist. xv. c.; *Sancta Romana Ecclesia*; and in Ivo, *Liber Decret.*: but in the Collections of the Councils both clauses will be found.

³ *Received*.—On the date and genuineness of the supposed Decree of Gelasius, see Bp. Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epist. S. Ignatii*, Part I., c. iv. p. 44 (4^o, Cantabr. 1672), where the whole question is discussed. A good summary of the arguments against the Decree is given by Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, tom. i. p. 463 (*Oxon.* 1740), who says that it is not alluded to by any author before the year 840. Mr. Gibbings, however, has found a reference to

it in the *Opus Caroli Magni contra Synodum pro adorandis imaginibus*, written about 790. (*Roman Forg.*, p. 4.) Ceiller (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. xv., p. 630, *sq.*) admits that the Gelasian Decree must have been interpolated, although he inclines to believe it on the whole genuine, and says that it is cited under the title of *Gelasii Papæ de Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, "dans une acte de l'Abbaye de saint Riquier en 432." This date, however, is a mistake, and ought to be 831. For the document referred to (which occurs in the *Chron. Centulense*, sive *S. Richarii*, lib. iii. cap. 3), is an inventory of the goods and chattels of the monastery, including its books, drawn up, as the author tells us, "Anno Incarnationis Domini dcccxxxi. Indictione ix.," by order of the Emperor "Hludovicus" (i. e. Louis le Débonnaire), and in the eighteenth year of his reign: *Dacherii Spicil.* ii., p. 310 (fol. edit.). In this catalogue of the books of the monastery there occurs, under the heading *De Canonibus*, a copy of "Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis." So that there is really no evidence that this celebrated Decree had any existence before the latter part of the eighth century. And it is

as Tillemont and Asseman, Cave and Grabe, have judged favourably, or hesitated, at least, to pronounce the Epistle a forgery, we may well excuse the Irish Churchmen, of an age eminently uncritical, for having adopted the *Epistola Jesu* without questioning the authority of Eusebius.

The following is a translation of the Preface or Scholium prefixed to the Hymn, which, as usual in this collection, is written partly in Irish, partly in Latin:—

Beatus es et reliqua. Christ himself wrote with His own hand this Epistle, as Eusebius relates in his History. And it was at Jerusalem it was written; in the time of Tiberius Cæsar it was written. And this was the cause [of writing it]; Abgarus, the Toparch, King of the land of Armenia, and of the land to the north of the River Euphrates, was in severe sickness in the city of Edessa, so that an epistle was brought from him to Christ, *requesting* that He would

remarkable that Pope Adrian I., in his letter to Charlemagne, in defence of the second Council of Nice against the objections of the Gallican bishops, assumes the truth of the story (which was assumed also in the Council), that our Lord had written to Abgarus, and quotes the authority of his predecessor, Pope Stephen, who (in answer to the objection, “Quod nulla evangelii lectio tradat Jesum ad Abagarum imaginem misisse”) had said “Sed, nec illud est prætereundum, quod relatione fidelium de partibus orientis advenientium, sæpe cognovimus. In quibus licet evangelium sileat, tamen nequaquam in omnibus incredibile fidei meritum: et hoc affirmante de ipso evangelista: *Multa quidem et alia signa fecit Jesus, quæ non sunt scripta in libro hoc.* Denique fertur ab asserentibus quod Redemptor humani generis, appropinquante die passionis, cuidam regi Edessensæ civitatis, desideranti corporaliter illam cernere, et ut persecutiones Judæorum fugeret ad illum convocare, ut auditas miraculorum opiniones, et sanitarum curationes illi et populo suo impertiret, respondisset: Quod si faciem meam corporaliter cernere cupis, in tibi vultus mei speciem transformatam in linteo dirigo: per quam et

desiderii tui fervorem refrigeres, et quod de me audisti impossibile nequaquam fieri existimes. Postquam tamen complevero ea quæ de me scripta sunt, dirigam tibi unum de discipulis meis, qui tibi et populo tuo sanitates impertiat et ad sublimitatem fidei vos perducatur, &c.” —Hardouin, *Concil.* tom. iv., p. 782. Here we have the authority of two Popes, sanctioning the Epistle with an interpolation which is not in the copy given by Eusebius, and which, we may observe, does not occur in the Irish Book of Hymns. But it is remarkable that this letter of Adrian to Charlemagne, which assumes the genuineness of our Lord's Epistle to Abgarus, was written (A. D. 792) in reply to that very *Opus Caroli magni*, of 790, in which the Decree of Gelasius, condemning the Epistles, was referred to. See Richard, *Analyse des Conciles*, tom. i., p. 739 (Paris, 1772. 4°). Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* xviii. p. 230, 231. It is clear, therefore, that Pope Adrian I. cannot have regarded the Gelasian “Libellus” as genuine, for he passes it over in entire silence; and the same remark will apply to the second Council of Nice. There is, therefore, some confusion about this matter, which needs further research.

come to cure him: for he had heard that He was the Son of God, and that He had cured many. So that it was in praise of the faith of Abgarus, that Christ composed this Epistle. And this Epistle is in the city of Edessa.

In which city no heretic can live, no Jew, no worshipper of idols. Nor have barbarians ever been able to assail it, from the time when Evagarus, King of the said city, received the Epistle written by the Saviour's hand. In fine, a baptized infant, standing upon the gate and wall of the city, reads this Epistle. If ever a people should come against that city, on the day in which that Epistle, written by the hand of the Saviour, is read, those barbarians are brought to make peace, or are put to flight, routed.

The latter half of this Preface, from the words "In which city no heretic can live," &c., to the end, is in Latin; and is probably an extract from some ancient legend; in it the name of the king is written *Evagarus*, instead of Abgarus, which may indicate a different source. It is remarkable that no allusion is made to the miraculous image or picture of our Lord, so celebrated in the history of Edessa, although it is mentioned by Evagrius¹, whose Ecclesiastical History was compiled in the latter part of the sixth century.

This may be regarded as evidence that the Irish Preface was compiled from traditions of some antiquity. But, on the other hand, the privileges of Edessa, stated by our Scholiast as resulting from the possession of the autograph letter of our Lord, exhibit marks of more modern interpolation. Evagrius, indeed, mentions the general belief (*τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς θρυλούμενα*) that Edessa could never be taken by an enemy,—although he acknowledges that this was not said in the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus; but he seems to have known nothing of the belief that no Jew, or heretic, or infidel, could live in the city, or that a baptized child², standing on the walls of the city, was wont to read the Epistle, although

¹ *Evagrius*.—Hist. Eccles., lib. iv., c. 27. *Φέρουσι τὴν Θεότυκτον εἰκόνα ἣν ἀνθρώπων μὲν χεῖρες οὐκ εἰργάσαντο· Ἀγβάργῃ δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ἰπεὶ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπόθει, πέποιμφε.*

² *Child*.—John of Ypra, in his Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Bertin, gives the correspondence of our Lord with Abgarus (cap. 43, part. iii.), and adds: "Post ascensionem vero Domini Thaddæus apostolus ad Abagarum missus, ipsum cum toto populo suo baptizavit, et eum a languore solo verbo curavit, juxta Christi promissum, civitatemque sic assecura-

vit, quod si quis adversarius ad illam lædendam venisset, cives infantem super portam civitatis afferebant, et Salvatoris epistolam sibi porrigebant, qui licet alias fari nescius, epistolam prompte legit, et mox inimici recesserunt: quod quidem miraculum toto Abagari et longo post hoc tempore duravit."—*Joh. Iperii, Chron. S. Bertini* (apud Martene et Durand. *Thesaur. Novus Anecd.*, tom. iii., p. 642, A). John of Ypra died A. D. 1383. See also Gilo Parisiensis, *De expeditione Hierosol.*, lib. iii. (ibid. p. 231, A), who, speak-

otherwise unable to read, or even to speak, (for that seems to be the meaning,) or that a special blessing was attached to the reading or recitation of the Epistle.

The testimony of Evagrius, that no promise of perpetual security from hostile aggression was contained in the Epistle of Christ, did not prevent the interpolation of such a promise in subsequent editions of the Epistle: for example, in that given by Constantine Porphyrogenneta, in the *Narratio de Edessena Christi Imagine*, a promise is added at the end of the Epistle, that Edessa shall never be taken by its enemies; καὶ τῇ πόλει σου γενήσεται τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσαι αὐτῆς. And yet the Epistle seems to have contained this clause, or some equivalent clause, in the age of St. Augustine: for the Count Darius, in a letter² in which (if its text be not interpolated) he asks Augustine for a copy of the *Confessions*, enforces his request by the example of Christ, who condescended to give a favourable reply to the petition of Abgarus, "preces supplicis non dedignaretur,"—and even granted more than He

ing of Edessa, and of the Epistle of Christ, says:

"Hæc ibi temporibus permansit epistola multis,
Atque ea ab adversis tutavit mœnia cunctis,
Nam si barbaricus furor illuc perveniebat,
Baptizatus eam puer alta ex arce legebat," etc.

¹ *Narratio*.—Published by Combefis, *Manipul. originum rerumq. C. politanarum*, p. 81, quoted by Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 319.

² *Letter*.—Epist. 230 (Ed. Bened.), 263 (Ed. Lovan.). "Fertur satrapæ, seu regis potius cujusdam epistola," &c. This Epistle was unknown to Possidius, and appeared first in the Louvain edit. of St. Augustine's works. How far the allusion to the promise, which it distinctly states was made by our Lord to Edessa, "per epistolam," should militate against the genuineness of the letter attributed to Darius, cannot be discussed here. It is certain, from the testimony of Evagrius, that at the end of the sixth century the "Epistola Jesu" contained no such promise; and the answer (Ep. 231), which seems not unworthy of St. Augustine, contains no allu-

sion to the use which Darius made of our Lord's supposed Letter to Abgarus; but simply says, "Misi et alios libros quos non petisti, ne hoc tantummodo facerem quod petisti." This suggests the suspicion that the argument from our Lord's condescension to Abgarus may have been introduced into the letter of Darius, by some later copyist. It occupies a section by itself, and its omission would make no perceptible hiatus in the Epistle.—Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi., p. 332) says that Darius spoke of the Letter of Abgarus, and of our Lord's reply, in such a manner as to show that he doubted the authenticity of both: "d'une maniere qui fait voir qu'il doutoit de l'autenticité de l'une et de l'autre." This opinion seems to be founded upon the words *fertur*, and "Laudasse insuper suam dicitur civitatem." Baronius draws the opposite inference, that the Epistles were received as genuine: "Eas vero absque aliquâ dubitatione ab antiquioribus fuisse receptas, testatur epistola Darii comitis ad S. Augustinum scripta."—*Annal.*, A.D. 31, n. 60.

was asked,—by promising that the city of Abgarus should have perpetual security from its enemies—"et amplificato petitionis munere, per epistolam non modo salutem ut supplici, sed etiam securitatem ut regi, transmisit; *jussit insuper ejus urbem ab hostibus in perpetuum esse ac semper immunem.*"

All this tends to show that a belief in the authenticity of our Lord's correspondence with Abgarus was of great antiquity, and that legends founded upon that belief had begun to be invented at an early period. And the omission of all allusion to the Edessan image, or picture, in the Scholiast's preface, may be taken as evidence that the Irish Church had probably received the *Epistola Jesu* from a very ancient source; for this connexion of it with the picture of our Lord was one of the circumstances that gave celebrity to the Epistle, and caused it to be quoted against the iconoclasts in the second Council of Nicæa.

The Latin Version of the Epistle contained in the Irish Liber Hymnorum, and now published, appears to have been derived from the translation of Eusebius¹ by Ruffinus; it has been collated with a printed copy of Ruffinus without date, but published early in the sixteenth century under the title of "*Hystoria Ecclesiastica*," with the following colophon, "*Venundantur Parisiis a Francisco Regnault, in vico Sancti Jacobi sub signo divi Claudii.*" The readings of this copy are distinguished in the Notes by the letter R.

¹ *Eusebius*.—Since the foregoing remarks were written, the posthumous work of the late Rev. Dr. W. Cureton has appeared, entitled "*Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring countries.*" Amongst these "Documents" the Epistle to Abgarus is given from a very antient Syriac version of

the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. The editor, Dr. William Wright, of the British Museum, states in his Preface, that Dr. Cureton was a believer in the authenticity of the Abgaran Epistles; and his name must therefore be added to the list of those divines of the Church of England who have held that opinion.



ՕԵԱՏՍ ԵՏ յԻԼ. Շրիթ քեյո քօրքոքի՝ քոնա լայմ ինքերիլ[ր]ե, ամալ Բքէք Եւրեւր
 ինքարայր. In հիքրալեմ սօ քօրքոքիԲ. in տեքքօք Ծիքրոյ շեքրարոյ քերիքա երք.
 Ըաւրա սօ հեք երք, Աքգարսր տօքաքա քի էրքե քրմեյա՝ յ յա էրքե քրոյ քրոքի նեքքրոյ
 աշաւաիք, քօԲալ ինչալսր քրոյ in Էժրա շուաէա եօ աշաւալ երիլսլ սաԲ եօ Շրիթ եօ
 էրքաԲ Բալե, քր աշաւալա քօր Բօ մաքք Դէ հէ. յ քօնեալ քօքաԲ. ԿօնԲ քր մօլաԲ
 քրքե Աքգե քօքօնա Շրիթ ինքերիլք. Աքա էրքա ինքերիլ քե ինՊրա շուաէա.
 IN զա շուաէա նսլսր հեքքեւսր քօքքք սսքքե, նսլսր իսքսր, նսլսր իսլօքսր
 քսլքօք. ՏեԲ նեքքե ԲարԲարոյ ալիքանԲօ եաՄ իսաԲքքե քօքսքքքք, եք եօ տեքքօք
 զօ Էսազարսր քեք եւրքԲեՄ շուաէալսր աքքքք երիլքօլաՄ յաՄսր քալաւալօքր քերիքաՄ.
 հաՄ եւնիքքե երիլքօլաՄ լեգի իքքաՄ Բաքքիզալսր քեքաՄ քրքեր քօքքաՄ եք մսրսր
 շուաէալսր. քի զանԲօ շքր սեւերիք քօնքրա շուաէաՄ իլլաՄ, in եօԲեՄ Բիք զեքա
 քսքքք երիլքօլա յաՄսր քալաւալօքր քերիքա լալաշքքք իլլի ԲարԲարոյ աւք քսգաշքք
 իքքրմալ.

CAUTUS es qui me non uidisti et credidisti in
me. scriptum est enim de me, quia hi qui uident
me non credent. et qui me non uident ipsi in
me credent et uiuent. de eo haec quod scrip-
sisti mihi ut uenirem ad te. oportet me omnia

Gloss.—1. *Qui*.—i. abgare. 2. *Scriptum est*.—i. in essaia profeta. *De me*.—i. de christo. *Hi*.—i. iudei. *Vident*.—i. corpore. 3. *Credent*.—i. spiritu. *Et qui*.—i. gentes. *Non vident*.—i. corporaliter. 4. *Credent*.—i. spiritualiter. *Viuent*.—i. in perpetuum. *De eo*.—i. subintellige respondeo, vel dico. 5. *Scripturisti*.—i. in tua epistola. *Ad te*.—i. ad edissam. *Oportet*.—i. hec est responsio i. oportet me facere omnia [quæ] promissa sunt de me a profeta.

1. *In me.*—Qui credidisti in me cum me ipse non videris, R.

2. *Scriptum est.*—Is. vi. 9, Matt. xiii. 13.

3. *Credent.*—Quia hi qui me vident non credent in me, R. This is generally supposed to be an allusion to S. John, xx. 29; but Fabricius thinks Is. vi. 9, and lii. 15, much more probably the passages referred to. *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, p. 318. This is confirmed by the gloss. i. in *essia profeta*. *Ipsi in me.*—Et qui non vident me ipsi credent et vivent, R.

4. *Scriptisati*.—The Epistle of Abgarus, as given by Eusebius, contained an invitation to our Lord to take refuge in Edessa from the persecution of the Jews; adding that the city, although small, was beautiful, and would be sufficient for both:—
καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσί σου καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαι σε. πόλιν δὲ μικροτάτη μοι ἐστὶ καὶ σεμνή, ἥτις ἐφαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροισι.—Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13.

5. *Venirem.*—Veniam, R.

propter quae misus sum hic explere. posteaquam compleu-
ero recipi me ad eum a quo misus sum. cum ergo fuero
asumptus mittam tibi aliquem ex discipulis meis qui curet
egritudinem tuam et uitam tibi atque his qui tecum sunt
prestat.

10

Domine Domine defende nos a malis et curtopi nos in bonis ut
rimur fili tui hic et in futuro, Amen. Saluator omnium
Chirite perprice in nos ihesu et miferere nobis.

Gloss.—6. *Hic*.—i. in iudea vel in hierusalem, vel in hoc mundo. 7. *Compleuero*.—i. leges et profes-
tias. 7. *Recipi me*.—i. in ascensionem. *Ad eum*.—i. ad patrem. *Misus*.—i. in humanitate, i. ad sal-
uandum mundum. 8. *Asumptus*.—i. a patre in celum. *Mittam*.—i. ad te. *Tibi*.—i. abgare. *Ali-
quem*.—i. tatheum. *Discipulis*.—i. ex apostolis. 9. *Tuam*.—i. abgare. *Uitam*.—i. perennem et doc-
trinam et sanitatem. *Tecum sunt*.—i. in fide christiana.

6. *Posteaquam*.—Et posteaquam imple-
vero, R.

7. *Ad eum*.—Ab eo, R. *Misus*.—The
S. Isidore MS. reads *Misus*.

8. *Aliquem*.—The gloss says i. *tatheum*.
So the name Thaddæus is given in Ruffin's
translation of Eusebius: in the original
(*loc. cit.*) he is called Θαδδαῖον τὸν ἀπό-
στολον ἕνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. This cannot
mean that Thaddæus, one of the 70, was
also one of the Twelve Apostles, and Eu-
sebius, therefore, must have called him an
apostle in a secondary sense, as having been
the Apostle of Edessa. He expressly dis-
tinguishes him from the Twelve Apostles,
but says that others were called Apostles,
lib. i. c. 12. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*,
tom. i., p. 360, and note 5, p. 613. St.
Jerome (*in S. Matth.* c. x. 4) fell into
the mistake of confounding this Thaddæus
with the Apostle of the same name; and
others have been led into the same error.
Bede corrects it, *Retract.* in *Acta Apost.*,
c. x. It is probable that the author of the
gloss followed Jerome, when he interprets
“ex discipulis” by “ex apostolis.” The

Hymn of St. Cummain Fota, line 23 (see
above, p. 77), also follows Jerome. The
Menology of the Greek Church identi-
fies Thaddæus of Edessa with the Apostle
Jude, or Thaddæus, the brother of our
Lord: καὶ πρὸς Ἀβγαρον τοπάρχην πορευ-
θεὶς ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου.—
Men. Græc. ad 19 Jun. *Qui curet*.—Ut
curet, R. Ut qui curat, S. Isidore MS.

9. *Egritudinem*.—Abgarus in his Epistle
had asked our Lord to come and heal him:
“et ægritudinem meam, qua jamdiu la-
boro, curare.”

10. *Prestet*.—The S. Isidore MS. adds
here, “Salvus erit sicut scriptum est qui
credit in me salvus erit.”

Domine, Domine.—The prayers which
follow are in the angular character already
frequently spoken of. They seem to show
that this Letter to Abgarus was read in the
ancient Irish Church as a Lesson in some
office. In the upper margin of the MS.
there are some sentences, which do not ap-
pear to have had any connexion with the
text. They have been greatly mutilated

Euangelium domini noster ihesu christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni periculo, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni plaga, ab omni iniuria, ab omnibus iniquis diaboli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro. Amen.

by the plough of the binder. The following words are all that are now legible:—
 "custodis nostram sicut de anima christiana dicitur. Omnis caro fenum est, et reliqua" [Is. xl. 6]. "Sed gloria eius filiae regis ab intus, nam extrinsecus maledicta et per ntiones et detractones permittuntur de quibus tamen in celis merces aeterna est quae sentitur in corde patientium eorum qui iam possunt ut dicitur . . glori . . . in tribulationibus. Hic illa maledictio beatitudinem creat." The word *Hic* is a contraction for *Hieronymus*; the passage alluded to occurs in S. Jerome's Comment. on S. Matt. v. 11, "Illud maledictum contemnendum est quod beatitudinem creat, quod falso maledicentis ore profertur."

After the foregoing sheets had been worked off, the writer had the privilege of visiting Rome, and was kindly permitted to collate the Donegal copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* in the Convent of S. Isidore, which is undoubtedly the MS. quoted by Colgan, and of which a full account will be found in the Appendix to this Fasciculus.

This MS. gives the concluding prayers or collects, after the Epistle, thus:—

"Domine, Domine, defende nos a malis et custodi nos in bonis, ut simus filii tui hic et in futuro, qui regnas in secula seculorum.

"Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, visitet nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni plaga, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni perturbatione, ab omni periculo, ab omni invidia, ab omnibus insidiis diaboli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro."

The Irish Preface to the Epistle of Christ in the S. Isidore MS. is as follows: it is in some places illegible. The Editor has marked by dots the passages which he has been unable to decipher:—

beatur ep. ihu xpi fecit hanc epistolam. Dia naba rex edirae ciuitatis qui dolorem pedum habuit. Cocucab episcopus uab co episcopus conbricat dia acallam ocur dia. Ocur ue cacheur ipm episcopus borom iapcerrab episcopus. Ocur ipse mo. Ocur ataat in edira in episcopus q conop cap mbia co daib opdaib. Ocur g nachnepe tecba bich pape [est pape] nuape ipm

Which may be thus translated:

Beatus es. JESUS CHRIST made this epistle: for there was a king of the city of Edessa, who had a malady in the foot: and a letter was brought from him to Christ, requesting that He would come to converse with and heal him. And Thaddaeus the epistle unto him after the crucifixion of Christ. And it was he and they are in Edessa the epistle was, and and

XIX. THE HYMN OF ST. FIACC, IN PRAISE OF ST. PATRICK.

THIS Hymn was first printed by Colgan. He gives it in his *Trias Thaumaturga* under the title of “Hymnus, seu Vita Prima S. Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli, S. Fieco Episcopo Sleptensi Authore,”—it having been regarded by him as the earliest of the seven Lives of St. Patrick which he had collected; although it was evidently never intended by its author as a “Life” properly so called, but only a Poetical Panegyric upon the Saint.

Colgan has published it in the original Irish, with a Latin translation in parallel columns; and, although subsequent editors have not scrupled to criticise and alter his translation, none of them has pretended to correct his text from any MS. authority, or suggested anything better than conjectural, and sometimes ignorant, emendations.

There is, therefore, in reality no existing printed text of this Hymn of any authority, except that published by Colgan, which was taken from his copy of the Book of Hymns¹ now preserved at the Franciscan College of S. Isidore, in Rome. Dr. O’Conor’s edition² does not profess to have been collated with any other MS. of the original, and is, in fact, only a reprint of Colgan’s text. The same remark will apply to the only other printed copy which has appeared with any pretensions to editorial scholarship, viz., that published by Henry Leo (*Halis Saxonum*, 1845), on the occasion of a declaration of successful competitors for Prizes “in certamine literario,” proposed in honour of the birth day of Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. This work (which does not appear to have obtained a prize) is

¹ *Hymns*.—“Extat in pervetusto codice opusculorum aliquot sanctorum Hiberniæ (qui *Liber Hymnorum* inscribitur) ex quo ipsum desumpsimus.”—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 6.

² *Edition*.—*Rer. Hib. Scriptt. Prolegom.*,

part i., p. 38, sq. O’Conor entitles this Hymn “Carmen vetus Hibernicum, quod Fieco, &c., tribuitur, . . . ex Codice vetustissimo *Dungallense*.” The MS. at S. Isidore’s is entitled in a hand of the seventeenth century, “Ex li-

entitled "Commentatio de Carmine vetusto Hibernico in S. Patricii laudem." It consists of a minute analysis of the original text, with a translation, in which the author does not display any exact acquaintance either with Irish grammar or with Irish history.

The other editions and attempted translations of the Hymn, which have appeared in this country, add nothing to the illustration of it, philologically or historically, and do not require any detailed notice¹. They are all taken

bris de conventus [*sic*] de Dunnagall." This is on the lower margin of p. 3.

¹ Notice.—The following is a list of all these editions with which the editor is acquainted:—

1. Vallancey, in the first edition of his Irish Grammar (*Dublin*, 4^o, 1773), has printed this Hymn (p. 166 sq.) with Colgan's Latin Translation. O'Reilly, in his account of Irish writers (*Trans. Ibero-Celtic Soc.*, p. xxxiii), says that this Hymn was printed "in the first edition of Vallancey's Irish Grammar, with a faulty English translation." But this English translation is not to be found in the copies of the first edition of Vallancey's Grammar which are now preserved in the public libraries of Dublin, nor has the Editor ever seen it; and there is reason to suspect that the sheets which contained it were cancelled by the author (after its errors were discovered), to make room for Colgan's Latin version. In the second edition of the Grammar, printed in 8vo, Vallancey has omitted Fiacc's Hymn altogether.

2. Mr. Patrick Lynch, in the Appendix to his Life of St. Patrick (*Dublin*, 1810, 8^o), p. 328, has printed this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation of his own, and Colgan's Latin Version. Mr. O'Reilly (*loc. cit.*) calls this "a correct English translation;" but it is very far from being so.

3. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Coyle, a Roman Catholic bishop in Ireland, in a work called "The Pious Miscellany" (*Dublin*, 1831, 12^o), of which the first vol. only was published, has printed St.

Fiacc's Hymn, in the original Irish, with a loose metrical English version (p. 46, sq.).

4. Mr. Martin A. O'Brennan, "LL. D., Member of the Honorable Society of Queen's Inns," has published this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation and copious notes, in vol. 1., p. 484, of a work, the first volume of which is entitled, "O'Brennan's Antiquities," and the second, "A School History of Ireland, from the Days of Partholan to the Present Day." *Dublin*, 8^o (*sine anno*). The dedication of the second edition of vol. 1., "To his Grace the Most Rev. John Mac Hale," is dated "April, 1848."

5. O'Reilly (*ubi supra*) states that in 1792 [1791] this Hymn was published by Richard Plunket, "a neglected genius of the county Meath, who, in pages opposite to the original text, gave a version into modern Irish." This is an exceedingly rare tract, 8vo. pp. 32. The first page is blank; then follow two titles, one in English and the other Irish, on opposite pages. The English title is this: "An Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick: extracted, from the antient Scytho-Celtic dialect, into Modern Irish, by Richard Plunket, late Translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the Manuscript in his possession. *Dublin*. Printed in the year M,DCC,XCI." The Irish title is: "Himhin Phadrúig Absdal. Do cumadh re Feiche Easbug Shleibhte, a gcondae na Banríoghna, disciobal agas fear comhaimsire do Padraig fein. Air na mhineadh go deighneach san nuaghghaoi-

from Colgan's Text and Version; some with arbitrary alterations of the original, and translations which, so far as they differ from Colgan's, may be described as the offspring, for the most part, of presumptuous ignorance.

In the ancient Scholium, or Preface, prefixed to this Hymn, Fiacc¹ of Slebte, or Slebhte, is unhesitatingly pronounced to be its author. This ecclesiastic, who was honoured as a saint in the Irish Church on the 12th of October², was descended from Cathair Mór (*Cathirius Magnus*, as O'Flaherty³ Latinizes the name), who became monarch of Ireland, A. D. 174, and was killed in the battle of Taillte⁴ (now Teltown, in Meath), A. D. 177. Fiacc's descent from this king of Ireland may be gathered from the Scholium or Preface to the Hymn as printed by Colgan, thus:

Cathair Mór,
|
Daire Barrach,
|
Bregan.
|
Erc.
|
Fiacc, of Slebhte.

dhilig, *Re RIOSTARD PLUNCEAD*. A mbeulatheliath an na chur a gclo san mbliadhan m.DCC.XCI." Then follows the Hymn in the ancient Irish, as given by Colgan, with a translation on the opposite page into the modern Irish of the peasantry, ending on p. 11. On pp. 12 and 13 are an English and Irish title to S. Brogan's Life of S. Bridget, with the Hymn in Colgan's text, and a translation into vulgar Irish as before, to p. 25. Page 26 is blank; and p. 27 is a title-page: "Short Directions for reading Irish, intended for those who can speak and understand the language. By Richard Plunket, late translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now that manuscript in his possession. Dublin: Printed in the year m.DCC.XCI." This ends on p. 31, and p. 32 contains a list of Richard Plunket's works, in nine articles.

¹ *Fiacc*.—His name is written by Colgan *Fiecus*, and by Lanigan, Petrie, and others, *Fiech*. It has been so written in the early

pages of this work. In the Book of Armagh the name is written *Feecc*, *Fiacc*, and *Feccus*. The final c is never aspirated. Colgan has made this remark (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 7, col. 2, not. 2). In the Life of St. Patrick by Probus (*lib. i. c. 41*; Colgan, p. 51), St. Fiacc is called *Phiehg*, or *Pheg*, as Ussher more correctly gives the name in quoting this passage, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 410, *Elrington's edit.* Although the name is written *Fiac* in the Book of Lecan and some other ancient authorities, the true spelling is *Fiacc*, which is the same as *Fiag*. The Welsh equivalent is *Gwyech*.

² *October*.—His name occurs at this date (together with those of his son Fiachra, and Mobi Clairenech of Glasnevin) in the ancient *Felire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, a composition of the ninth century. See also *Mart. of Donegal*, p. 273.

³ *O'Flaherty*.—*Ogyg.*, Part iii. c. 59, p. 310. Conf. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 22, note.

⁴ *Taillte*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or Book

Daire Barrach was the ancestor of the tribe of Ui Bairrche¹ (or "Descendants of Barrach"), the chieftain of which clan assumed the name of Mac Gorman in later times, after the introduction of surnames: and the church of Sléhte now Slatey, or Sletty, is situated in the Queen's County, about two miles N. N. W. of the town of Carlow, in the midst of the country then inhabited by the tribe just mentioned.

The Dublin Book of Hymns adds another generation, if we have rightly interpreted the words "*In Fiac sin mc éside mc Ercha, mc Bregain*," to signify that this Fiacc was the son of the son of Erc, son of Bregan, or Breacan. But even with this addition, the foregoing genealogy is manifestly inconsistent with the age usually assigned to St. Fiacc. The narrative which makes him to have been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, assumes that he must have been of mature age, about A.D. 448², or upwards of 270 years after the death of Cathair Mór, if we adopt the chronology of O'Flaherty, and 326 years, if we are guided by the Four Masters. This is altogether too long a period for the number of generations which the above genealogy has placed between Fiacc and his royal ancestor; and necessarily leads to the conclusion, either that some intermediate generations have been omitted, or that the reign of Cathair Mór is antedated in our annals: for the only remaining alternative, that St. Fiacc lived before the age of St. Patrick, is manifestly untenable.

The supposition of an error in the number of the generations is rendered probable by the discrepancy in at least one of the names in the genealogy as it is given in the Preface to this Poem in the Dublin Book of Hymns, and as it is found in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, or *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* (as Colgan calls it), in the Book of Lecan. In the Dublin Book of Hymns, the son of Daire Barrach is named Bregan; in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, he is named Fiac, or Fiacc; and that these were in reality two, and not the same individual³,

of Rights, p. 205. The Four Masters give as the site of this battle Magh hAgha, which is probably a place near Tailte. They have the reign of Cathair Mór A.D. 120-122. The dates A.D. 174-177 are O'Flaherty's.

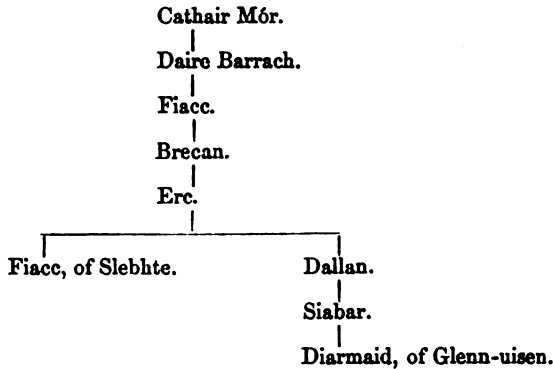
¹ *Ui Bairrche*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or *Book of Rights*, and Dr. O'Donovan's notes, p. 192, sq. Eithnea, the mother of St. Columba, was also of the Ui Bairrche.—Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. 8, 163, notes.

² *Tribe*.—This district was called *Omargy*, the Anglicized pronunciation of *Ui mBairrche*, signifying the country of the Ui Bairrche, or Descendants of Barrach. *Sléhte* signifies "mountainous."

³ *About A.D. 448*.—This is the date assigned by Ussher to the ordination of St. Fiacc, *Index Chron.* (Works, tom. vi., p. 571, Elrington's ed.).

⁴ *Individual*.—Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 8, n. 4.

is evident from the genealogy of St. Diarmaid (or Modimog, as he was sometimes called), of Glenn-uisen¹, who was of the same family, and whose descent from Cathair Mór is given² in eight generations inclusive, in which we have Fiacc, son of Daire Barrach, and Brecan, or Bregan, the son of Fiacc, so that we have thus an approximation to a more correct genealogy, showing the relationship of both saints, as follows:—



It may be observed also that the same authority gives two distinct genealogies of St. Fiacc, in one of which his father is called *Erc*³—gen. *Erca* (as in the *Book of Hymns*), and in the other his father is *Erchad*⁴—gen. *Erchada*, son of Erc. Assuming that a generation was here again omitted (an error that would be facilitated by the similarity of the names), Fiacc will appear in the seventh generation from Cathair Mór, inclusive: thus,—

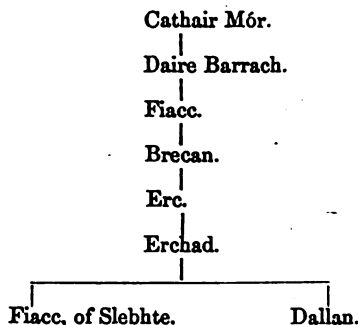
¹ *Glenn-uisen*.—Now Killeslin, in the Queen's County, near Carlow: not Glen or Glin in the King's County, as Archdall conjectures.—See Four Mast. at A.D. 842, and Dr. O'Donovan's note.

² *Given*.—Sanctilog. Geneal. Book of Lecan, fol. 49 b., col. 1. It is remarkable that in another copy of the genealogy of St. Diarmaid, given in the same tract (fol. 53 b., col. 4) the names of Erc and Brecan or Bregan are omitted: thus, "Diarmaid, i.e. Modimog of Glenn-uisen, s. of Siabarr; s. of Dallan; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór." Here two generations of the for-

mer line are wanting. This proves that errors existed in the pedigrees of this race; and we know that omissions of this kind are frequent in all genealogies.

³ *Erc*.—B. of Lecan, fol. 54, b. col. 2, thus: "Fiacc of Slechte, s. of Erc; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór."

⁴ *Erchad*.—Ibid., fol. 48, a. col. 4, thus: "Fiacc of Sleibhte, s. of Erchad; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire; s. of Cathair." It will be observed, however, that in both these genealogies Brecan is omitted, as if he was considered to be the same as Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach.



This confirms our interpretation of the genealogy as given in the Dublin Book of Hymns, which makes Fiacc the grandson of Erc, or son of Mac Erca. There is reason, however, to suspect a further error. For in the genealogies of the families descended from Daire Barrach, as given in the Book of Lecan¹, there is the following statement:—

17 o mac Erca .i. Fiacc mac Dara Erpoc plebce.	It is from Mac Erca that Fiacc, son of Dara, bishop of Slebhite, [descends].
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This seems to say that Fiacc was the son of Dara, and descended from Mac Erca, or Erc's son. Here we have one additional generation, supposing Dara to have been the son of Erchad Mac Erca; but it is quite as probable that two or more generations may have intervened; for in the Book of Leinster² where there is an entry corresponding to the above, Fiacc is said to have been the son *of the son* of Dara:—

17 ó mac meic Erca .i. Fiacc erpoc Slebce .i. mac meic Dara.	It is from the son of the son of Erc, i. e. Fiacc, bishop of Slebte, i. e. son of the son of Dara.
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Discrepancies of this kind, which manifestly exist in these records, prove that the chronological difficulty of the genealogy may be altogether the result of errors in the transcription³. We may therefore assume that St. Fiacc, of

¹ *Book of Lecan.*—Fol. 97 a., col. 1.

² *Book of Leinster.*—Fol. 219 a. See also Book of Ballymote, fol. 73 b.

³ *Transcription.*—The same considerations will enable us to correct the genealogy of St. Ethnea, mother of St. Columba (see Reeves'

Adamnan, p. 8), which is also too short for the chronology, she being sixth in descent from the same Mac Erca, who was the grandfather or great-grandfather of St. Fiacc. But her genealogy, as given in the *Sanct. Geneal.* and also in the *Felire of Aengus* (at June 9),

Slebhthe, according to the legend recorded in the preface to the following Hymn, may have been descended from Cathair Mór perhaps in the ninth or tenth generation, and therefore a contemporary of St. Patrick. The date assigned by Ussher to St. Fiacc's ordination is, as we have already said, 448. At that time he must have been about thirty years of age; for although we cannot, perhaps, argue that he could not in Ireland have been canonically consecrated a bishop if under that age, it is most probable that his son Fiachra had been born before Fiacc was admitted to holy orders: and he himself must therefore have been of mature age at that time. Assuming these premises, the year 418 will be about the year of his birth; and if he survived St. Patrick, whose death is generally dated 493, he may have lived to be about the age of 80 or 90. In this there is nothing improbable or actually incredible; and there remain no grounds for disturbing the Chronological place assigned to Fiacc of Slebhthe, in the traditions of the Irish Church, as a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick.

We must now examine the question of the authenticity of the Hymn. Can it be regarded as a composition of this remote antiquity? Is it possible to receive it as the work of the St. Fiacc who was consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick?

The celebrated Jesuit, Father Daniel Papebroch¹, one of the Bollandist collectors of the great *Acta Sanctorum*, has refused it a place in his collection of the Lives of St. Patrick, because he considered it impossible², from internal

omits all mention of Mac Erca, owing, no doubt, to the same similarity of names which has occasioned the confusion in the case of St. Fiacc. If St. Columba was born A.D. 521 (Reeves, *ibid.*, p. lxix), the birth of his mother cannot have been much before A.D. 500, or 323 years after the death of Cathair Mór. It is curious that Dr. Reeves (*ibid.*, p. 164, n.), when he adopted the common genealogy, which makes St. Fiacc fourth in descent from Daire Barrach, did not perceive the chronological difficulty; and yet he assumes the early date A.D. 120 of the reign of Cathair Mór (p. 8, note), by which that difficulty is increased.

¹ Papebroch.—The *Comment. Præv.* on the Life of St. Patrick in the *Acta SS.* of the Bollandists is anonymous; but Father Byeus, in his Life of St. Fiacc, says expressly that Daniel Papebroch was the author—a name of high authority.—*Act. SS.* Oct., tom. vi. *De S. Fieco. Comm. præv.* num. 3 (p. 97, C).

² Impossible.—His words are: "Hymnum autem jam dictum libenter nos quoque hic daremus: sed fatemur ingenue vereri nos ne non ipsius Fieci sit, ejus saltem qui primus Sleptiis a S. Patricio est constitutus episcopus."—*Act. SS. Martii*, tom. ii. p. 520 A. But the Hymn is ancient, and ought to have been given.

evidence, that the Hymn could really have been written by a contemporary of St. Patrick; and this decision has been endorsed by a later Bollandist, Cornelius Byeus, the learned compiler of the Life of St. Fiacc, at the 12th of October¹.

The arguments adduced by these authors, against the great antiquity attributed to this Hymn, are as follows:—

First,—It can scarcely be supposed that a contemporary of St. Patrick could have written the first line of the Hymn, "Patrick was born at Nemthur, as has been related in histories." This reference to *histories* implies such an interval in time between the author of the Hymn and the age of St. Patrick, as would make the name of his birth-place, and the actions of his life, matter of history: "vix inducimur" (says Papebroch) "ut Patricianas vitas statim a morte scriptas intelligamus, eo nomine"².

Colgan appears to have felt this difficulty, although he does not state it in express terms; but he anticipates it by his note on the passage, where he admits that the words, "as is recorded in histories," imply the existence of "Acts" of St. Patrick before the composition of the Hymn; he argues, however, that this creates no difficulty, because Jocelin (writing about 1185) mentions four lives of the saint written during his lifetime by his contemporaries and disciples³, St. Loman, St. Mel, St. Benean, or Benignus, and St. Patrick, junior.

Another passage in which "histories" are alluded to, is ver. 12, where the author says that St. Patrick read the Canons with St. German, "as histories relate," '*sicut testantur historie*' (for so Colgan correctly⁴ translates the words).

In reply to these objections, Mr. Patrick Lynch⁵, in his Life of St. Patrick, suggests that our author never quotes *histories*, except when he has occasion to record those events of St. Patrick's life which had taken place in foreign

¹ *October*.—Actt. SS. Oct., tom. vi. p. 103.

² *Nomine*.—Actt. SS. Martii, tom. ii. p. 520.

³ *Disciples*.—Colgan, Trias Thaum., p. 6, not. 3. "*Ut in historiis refertur*, c. 1. Indicat acta Patricii esse ante se scripta, et recte: quia quatuor alii discipuli ipsius S. Patricii, nempe S. Lomanus, S. Mel, S. Benignus, et S. Patricius junior scripserunt acta Patricii ante, ut testatur Jocelin, c. 186, vivente etiam adhuc ipso Patricio."

⁴ *Correctly*.—The old word *lne*, or *lmi* is rightly translated "*historiæ*" by Colgan. Lynch, without any authority, reads *lunne*, the plural of *lan* [which ought to be *lann*], with *us*; and Dr. O'Connor tells us that *lne* is *ecclesiæ*. He translates, "*Est ita testantur ecclesiæ*." *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, tom. i.; *Proleg.*, part. i. p. xci. But the plural of *lann*, a church, would be *lanna*, not *lne*.

⁵ *Lynch*.—Life of St. Patrick, p. 327.

countries, before Fiacc became known to his master. In the first line he refers to *histories* (rcéla), to establish St. Patrick's birth-place; in the twelfth line, as translated by Colgan, he cites *histories* (líní) to prove St. Patrick's residence in the islands of the Tyrrhene, or Mediterranean Sea, and his ecclesiastical education under St. German.

It should be observed that the word rcél (ver. 1), translated by Colgan history, denotes any story, tale, or narrative, handed down by tradition, written or unwritten, true or false. But the other word líné (linea) (ver. 12) seems to imply writing; and the fact remains that the author of this Hymn has referred to extant tales, or stories, traditions, and writings, as authority for certain facts in the Life and Acts of St. Patrick; the improbability therefore continues in all its force that such narratives (whether they recorded the acts of the saint abroad or at home) could have been circulated, so as to have been well known and quoted by a contemporary of the saint, in the manner in which our author cites them. It might be thought that Fiacc's own testimony, if he had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, would have been better than the testimony of any tales and stories, acts or lives, for such facts as the place of the Saint's birth, or his early travels and education. It is impossible to believe that a contemporary, who had been himself acquainted with his hero, could have referred to any tales, stories, traditions, or histories, written or unwritten, in confirmation of his statements.

Secondly,—Father Papebroch objects that it is difficult to believe how an author, who had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, could have introduced into his poem so many legends manifestly fabulous¹.

It is curious that Dr. Lanigan gives an opposite judgment. He says, "In the former," meaning Fiacc's Hymn, "which, as already observed, has a claim to very high antiquity, the narrative runs smooth and regular; nor do we find in it any of those ridiculous miracles that disgrace some of the later Lives"².

¹ *Fabulous*.—"Vix inducimur ut . . . intelligamus . . . tam familiarem ipsi sancto poetam tam multa fabulam redolentia huic suo carmini inseruisse."—*Actt. SS. Mart.*, tom. ii., 520 B.

² *Lives*.—*Eccle. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 80 (2nd edit.). Lanigan, however, does not maintain that this hymn was written by the Fiacc

who was a contemporary of St. Patrick; for in another place (to which he refers in the words above quoted) he says: "The Bollandists and some other judicious critics doubt of his (Fiacc's) being the author of it. But it does not follow that it is not very antient, and most probably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century."—*Ibid.*, p. 57, 8.

Nevertheless, the following miracles are mentioned in the Hymn:—The permanent impression of the angel's feet on a rock (ver. 8); apparitions of angels summoning St. Patrick to return to Ireland (ver. 14); the voices of the children in Connaught, heard by him in a distant country, calling upon him to come to their aid (ver. 16); the prophecies of his coming by the druids of Ireland (ver. 19–22); his extraordinary austerities, singing 100 psalms every night, standing in a well, and sleeping upon the hard stone, covered only with his wet garments (ver. 26–32); healing the blind and lepers, and bringing the dead to life (ver. 34); the burning bush in which the angel appeared to him, and foretold the supremacy of Armagh, and the privileges granted to the recitation of St. Sechnall's hymn (ver. 48–52); the sun standing still, in imitation of the miracle of Joshua (ver. 55–60); &c. These miracles, however, it may be said, are many of them imitations of miracles recorded in Scripture; they are such miracles as were, in that age, naturally attributed to the saint, and easily believed to have been performed by him, even among his immediate disciples; and, as Dr. Lanigan justly observes, they are not of the same "ridiculous" character¹, as some of the miracles which "disgrace the later lives."

We may, therefore, reasonably doubt whether this argument of the learned Bollandist is conclusive; for it is certain that miracles, quite as incredible as these, have at all times, down to our own "enlightened" age, been attributed to individuals eminent for sanctity, even by those who were their companions and personal acquaintances: so that the insertion of such marvels in the biography of a saint is not of itself an absolute proof that the author lived at a period long subsequent to the age of his hero. Dr. Lanigan's argument is more sound—that the comparatively moderate character of these miracles, as contrasted with the extravagant marvels of the later lives, must be regarded as an evidence of the higher antiquity of this Hymn, even though we may hesitate to admit that it was written by a contemporary of St. Patrick.

¹ *Ridiculous character.*—For example, his lighting a fire with icicles instead of sticks; *Jocel.*, c. 5; the water congealing in a kettle, notwithstanding the fire heaped around it, *ib.*, c. 20; his stone super-altar floating on the sea, and carrying a leper after the ship, c. 27; the same altar following him through the air, c. 55; the kid bleating from the stomach of the man who had stolen and eaten it, and

afterwards restored to its owner uninjured, &c. &c. Papebroch has rejected a great many of these miracles, and thrown them into his Appendix to the *Acta S. Patricii* (tom. ii. Martii, § III., p. 584). "In qua" (as *Byeus* says) "una cum æquâ juxta ac acri, quæ ibidem, § III., perstringuntur, censurâ, innoxie legi possent." *Act. SS. Oct.*, tom. vi. (ad 12 Oct., p. 98, E.).

Thirdly. The apparent allusions to the desolation of Tara (ver. 20 and 44), an event¹ which did not take place until after the year 560, is evidence that the Hymn could not have been written before the latter half of the sixth century.

If, therefore, St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, was the author, he must have lived to an age considerably beyond the ordinary term of human life. We are reduced to the necessity of attributing this Hymn to a writer, who must have flourished at the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, unless we are prepared to admit that St. Fiacc died at the advanced age of nearly a century and a half; or else to adopt the alternative, which Colgan prefers, of believing the allusion to the desolation of Tara to be a really inspired prediction² of that event.

Fourthly,—To these arguments it may be added that the author lived after the Hymn of St. Sechnall had become popular, and its use, as a *Lorica*, or protection against spiritual dangers to those who recited it, had been recognised; and also after the story of Patrick having obtained the privilege of being himself the Judge of the Irish at the Day of Judgment was invented³. This is evident from lines 51, 52, where the angel, who appeared to him in the bush, is introduced as announcing that his petitions were granted:

He [the angel] said, Primacy shall be at Armagh; give thanks to Christ.

To heaven shalt thou come, thy prayers are granted to thee:

The Hymn thou hast chosen in thy lifetime shall be a corslet of protection to every one:

Around thee, in the day of judgment, the men of Erin shall come to judgment.

¹ *Event*.—See the authorities for the cursing of Tara by St. Ruadan, or Rodan, of Lorrha, collected by Dr. Petrie, *Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 125 (*Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xviii., part 2).

² *Prediction*.—Papebroch says: "Qui [sc. Colganus] ne amittat auctorem, aut ipsum plus æquo annosum faciat, ista hymni verba in quibus de Temoriæ desolatione, post annum DLX factâ, agitur, prophetico spiritu dicta tanquam de re futurâ mavult credere; nobis autem explicatione tam violentâ auget formidinem prædictam" [formidinem, sc. ne non ipsius Fieci sit]. Colgan's words are as

follows:—"Observandum quod hic dicit S. Fiecus de desertâ vel deserendâ Temoriâ, certum propheticumque fuisse oraculum; vel si suo tempore vidit Temoriam desertam ipsum produxisse vitam usque ad annum 540" [*leg.* 560]; "quod mihi non probatur, cum fuerit florentis ætatis sub adventu Patricii anno 432, &c." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 6, not. 16. But the allusions to the desolation of Tara are evidently references to an event past, and do not pretend to be predictions of the future.

³ *Invented*.—See above, p. 22, note. It will be observed that nothing of this sort is to be found in the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

We have here manifestly the germ of the legend given more fully by Probus¹, or the author of the fifth life in Colgan's Collection; and there exists what is, perhaps, a still more ancient summary of the privileges of St. Patrick, in Tirechan's Annotations on the saint's life, compiled in the seventh century, and preserved in the Book of Armagh.²

It is scarcely credible that legends of this character could have been current so soon after the death of St. Patrick as to be adopted by a contemporary and disciple; and it is probable that the enumeration of these privileges by Tirechan is an earlier form of the legend than that given in the Hymn by our author. For Tirechan makes no mention of the apparition of the angel in the bush, nor of St. Patrick's being appointed the Judge of the Irish. It is evident also, from the above-cited stanzas, that the Hymn before us must have been written after the question of the Primacy of Armagh had become a subject of debate; and it is not likely that this could have been the case in the lifetime of a contemporary of St. Patrick.

It is remarkable that some of the collections in the Book of Armagh, relating to the Life of Patrick (which are probably the originals from which the biography, attributed to Probus, and other similar works, were compiled) are attributed in that MS. to "Muirchu Maccumachtheni;" who, it is expressly said, wrote them at the dictation of a bishop of Slebhite, "dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo"³. From this it may perhaps be inferred that

¹ *Probus*.—Lib. ii., c. 33.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 60.

² *Armagh*.—See above, p. 50 (where Tirechan's words are quoted); and Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 68.

Episcopo.—Lib. Ardmach., fol. 20, b., a. See Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 110 (Trans. Royal Irish Acad., vol. xviii., part ii.) Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. The Aidus, Bishop of Slebhite, here mentioned was, in all probability, the same whose death, under the name of "Aodh, anchorite of Sleibhte," is recorded by the Four Mast. A.D. 698: where see O'Donovan's notes. If so, Muirchu Maccumachtheni must be regarded as an author of the seventh century. The Annals of

Ulster record the death of Aedh, at 699, in these words: *Quies Aedo anachorite o Sleibtiu*. Tighearnach has the same words at A. D. 700. Dr. Reeves has given a curious extract from the Book of Armagh, showing the zeal of this Aedh bishop of Sletty for the church of Armagh; *Adamnan*, Additional Notes, p. 323, n. 4. This, taken in connexion with the passages of the hymn above cited, advocating the primacy of Armagh, is an additional evidence that the Hymn belongs to the times of Bp. Aedh (A. D. 700), rather than to those of Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick. The genealogy of Aedh has been preserved. He was of the same family as St. Fiacc; and it is remarkable that his pedigree is defective

St. Fiacc had left to the safe keeping of his successors in that see some valuable historical collections, or traditions relating to St. Patrick; these are, very probably, the "*histories*" referred to by the author of the Hymn now before us, and it is not unlikely that the Hymn itself (having been compiled from the traditions of the church of Slebhite, derived from Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick), came to be attributed to Fiacc himself as its author.

Fifthly,—One of the most plausible arguments for the antiquity of the Hymn is derived from the antiquity of the Scholiast, or author of the Preface and notes, who, Colgan maintains, must have flourished before the close of the sixth century. The testimony, therefore, of so early an author, who asserts, without hesitation, that the hymn was composed by St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, must necessarily be received with respect.

Colgan's reason for assigning so early a date to the Scholiast is this: The Preface states expressly that St. Fiacc, having been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, was soon afterwards made "Archbishop of Leinster"—*arþeppog lœræn*—and that his successors continued to enjoy that dignity ever since.

These words imply, says Colgan¹, that the successors of St. Fiacc continued to hold the archiepiscopal dignity in the time of our Scholiast; but we learn from

in the same way, and probably owing to the same cause—the accidental omission of names of similar sound. The genealogy is as follows (Book of Leinster, fol. 238 a):—"Bishop Aedh, s. of Brocan, s. of Cormac, s. of Diarmait, s. of Eochaidh Guineach, s. of Aongus, s. of Erc, s. of Breacan, s. of Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach, s. of Cathair mór." On comparing this pedigree with that of St. Fiacc, it will be seen that the defect occurs in the same place as before, viz., between Erc and Aongus. For Eochaidh Guineach slew his maternal grandfather, Crimthan King of Leinster, A. D. 484, according to the Chron. Scotorum, dated by O'Flaherty; it is impossible, therefore, that he can have been only seventh in descent from Cathair mór. But the genealogy between bishop Aedh and Eochaidh Guineach, seems to be correct, and is quite consistent with the date assigned to the death

of Aedh, by the Annals of Ulster and Tigernach. Murchu Maccumachtheni was one of the ecclesiastics present at the synod of Adamnan, which exempted women from service in war; circ. A. D. 690. Reeves, *Adamnan, App. to Pref.*, p. l. and li., note c. See also Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. Actt. SS. p. 465 a., n. 31.

¹ Colgan.—"Hic autem obiter observa hujus Scholiastæ vetustatem, qui videtur floruisse ante sæculi sexti finem: nam verbis citatis indicat Successores S. Fiaci fuisse Archiepiscopos Lageniæ usque ad sua tempora. Cogitosus autem Nepos S. Brigidæ, et qui floruit ante finem sæculi sexti, in Prefatione ad vitam ejusdem sanctæ Virginis, indicat Sedem Archiepiscopalem Lageniensium fuisse Killdariae suo tempore: et author vitæ S. Maidoci (quam damus ad 31 Januarii) capite 28 ejusdem vitæ, scribit eandem Sedem fuisse per

Cogitosus, author of the Life of St. Bridget, that in his time (the latter half of the sixth century, as Colgan thought) Kildare was the archiepiscopal see of Leinster; and the author of the Life of St. Aedan, or Moedóg, states that Brandubh, King of Leinster, together with a synod of the province, had made Ferns the archiepiscopal see: a change which must have taken place before the end of the sixth century, because King Brandubh was slain in 601, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. The successors of St. Fiacc of Slebhthe, therefore, cannot have continued archbishops much longer than about the middle of the sixth century, which, accordingly, fixes the date of the Scholiast.

To this Father Byeus¹, in his life of St. Fiacc, replies that the title of archbishop was not given to any bishops in Ireland, until the twelfth century; and, therefore, he concludes that the Scholiast, by giving that title to St. Fiacc, betrays the fact that he himself cannot have flourished before that period. Byeus appears to draw a similar inference from the title of *Archpoet*, given by the Scholiast to Dubhthach, the tutor of St. Fiacc, which, he says, "savours of the eleventh or twelfth century." But this very title ought to have led him to recognize his mistake; for by calling Dubhthach "*Archpoet* of Ireland," the Scholiast did not intend to say that Dubhthach held any office, or exercised any jurisdiction over the other poets of Ireland, but simply that he was the most eminent poet, or the chief poet of Ireland; and so, in like manner, when the Scholiast calls Fiacc *Archbishop*, the meaning is that he was the most eminent, or remarkable bishop of Leinster.

Brandubium Regem (qui occubuit anno 601), et synodum Lageniensium constitutam Fernæ. Idemque scribit Author vitæ S. Molingi, quam damus ad 17 Junii." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 8, not. 8. The date of King Brandubh's death is given by the Four Mast. 601; by the Ann. Ult., 604; and by Tigernach (or rather by O'Flaherty, who has dated the Annals of Tigernach), 605. This last is no doubt the correct year.

¹ *Byeus*,—Actt. SS. ad 12 Oct., p. 98, num. 7. "At vero, etsi quidem inter Hiberniæ episcopos, semper aliqui, qui præ aliis quid amplioris dignitatis aut jurisdictionis ecclesias-

ticæ haberent, hincque recte dici possent *primates*, extiterint, ii tamen non prius quam sec. circiter xii, uti ad xvii Junii diem in Commentario actis S. Molingi Fernensis episcopi prævio, num. 8, jam docuimus, appellari cœperunt *archiepiscopi*; quare cum nihilominus S. Fieco *archiepiscopi* titulum, ac præterea Dubtacho, cujus ille discipulus extitisse perhibetur, honorificam *archipoetæ*, appellationem, quæ seculum xi. aut xii. sapit, attribuat S. Fiechi scholiastes, scriptorem hunc, ut jam statui, ante sec. vi. finem vel paulo duntaxat post floruisse, quis credat"? See *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, sq.

The mistake is one into which Colgan himself has fallen, and which impairs the validity of his argument on the other side; for the Scholiast does not use the ecclesiastical Greek title *Arch-bishop*, (which in its strict sense, as implying canonical jurisdiction over other bishops, was unknown in Ireland until the twelfth century), but *Ard-episcop*, high bishop; *Ard-file*, high poet—that is to say, chief or principal bishop, or poet, not in reference to jurisdiction, but in reference to respect or precedency. In this sense, there is nothing inconsistent in the supposition that there might be more than one *ard-*, or *chief*-bishop in a district; and, consequently, when our Scholiast calls the successors of St. Fiacc in Slebhite, *ard*, or *chief*-bishops, and says that they were so regarded down to his own day, it does not at all follow that the bishops of Kildare and Ferns may not have also been considered *ard*, or *chief* bishops, at the same time.

The passage in the Preface to the Life of St. Bridget, by Cogitosus, to which Colgan refers, is a remarkable evidence of this loose or rather ancient use of the term, even as it stands in Colgan's Latin Version. For the author tells us, not as Colgan represents his testimony, that Kildare was recently made the archiepiscopal see of Leinster, but that it had *always* been an archbishopric of Ireland, that is to say, a chief or principal bishopric of Ireland: his words¹ are,—“*Quam [sc. cathedram] semper Archiepiscopus Hiberniensium Episcoporum, et Abbatissa, quam omnes Abbatissæ Scotorum venerantur, fœlici successionē, et ritu perpetuo dominantur.*” It is evident that Cogitosus must have here used the Irish word *ard-episcop*, chief bishop, not the modern ecclesiastical title *archbishop*, of which he could have known nothing: and the meaning of the foregoing passage was simply this, that the see, or *cathedra*, of Kildare was always governed by a bishop who was recognized as an *ard*, or *high* bishop [that is, as holding an eminent place among the Irish bishops], and by an abbess, who was regarded with veneration by all other abbesses of the Scots or Irish.

The Bishop of Kildare was *chief* amongst the bishops, in the same sense in which the Abbess of Kildare was *chief* amongst the abbesses of the Scotie nation; and it should be particularly noticed that this, he says expressly, had been *always* the case,—*semper*², i. e. from the very foundation of the monastery. It

¹ His words.—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 518.

² *Semper*.—It is curious to read Colgan's note on the words, “*Quam semper Archiepis-*

copus Hiberniensium Episcoporum,” &c. He says, “*Non intelligit quod fuerit omnium Hibernorum*” [although Cogitosus expressly says so], “*sed solum Lageniensium Archie-*

is evident, therefore, that Cogitosus spoke only of a pre-eminence of dignity or respect, not of metropolitan or archiepiscopal jurisdiction; and such pre-eminence did not interfere with the same title of *ard-epsco*p, or archbishop (if we choose to translate it so) being given to other bishops at the same time, and even within the same district, such as Leinster.

This fallacy runs through all that Colgan has written on the subject; and has, in all probability, also unconsciously interfered with the exact fidelity of his translations from the Irish. For example, in translating the words of the Scholiast, in the Preface to the Hymn before us, he makes his author say,—“Et postea ab eodem [*sc.* Patricio] consecratus est [*Fiecus*] Episcopus, et tandem Lageniæ Archiepiscopus institutus: quo etiam munere ejus Comorbani, sive Successores abinde funguntur”¹. Here there is nothing in the original to represent the words *tandem institutus*, or *munere funguntur*, although honest Colgan, thinking only of the modern archiepiscopal function, doubtless believed that by this paraphrase he was only more fully expressing the meaning of his author. But the original says merely that Fiacc was ordained a bishop by St. Patrick, and from that time was regarded as a chief or eminent bishop, as were his successors after him.

The passage quoted by Colgan, from the Life of St. Moedóc of Ferns, has doubtless suffered in the same way from the prepossession of its translator, who probably lived at a period when the modern idea of an archbishop was better known. He tells us that a great synod held in Leinster by King Brandubh, in which the laity, as well as clergy, had seats, decreed, in honour of St. Moedóc, and, in reward for his services to the King, that the see of Ferns, then recently founded, should be thenceforth the Archbishopric of Leinster: “ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedóc;” and, accordingly, the saint was then consecrated archbishop “by many Catholics”². But all this, most probably, means no more than that St.

piscopus. Nec hæc dignitas metropolitana semper Kildariæ fuit” [although Cogitosus says expressly that it was; using this very word *semper*]. Colgan then goes on to say that St. Fiacc, as bishop of Slebhte, was the first archbishop of Leinster; that then the metropolitan jurisdiction was transferred to Kildare; then to Ferns, and finally to Dublin,

where it still remains. But nothing can be more clear than that Cogitosus was not thinking of archiepiscopal or metropolitan jurisdiction, in the modern sense, in which the see of Dublin now possesses it. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 17.

¹ *Funguntur*.—Triad. Thaum., p. 4, n. 1 a.

² *Catholics*.—Colgan, Actt. SS. ad 31 Jan.,

Moedóc and his successors should always be regarded as chief or eminent bishops¹.

It follows that Colgan's argument to prove that his Scholiast flourished in the sixth century, and the argument of Byeus, bringing him down to the twelfth, are both fallacious; both being founded on the same assumption that the title *ard-episcop*, as used in Irish authorities, was equivalent to the later ecclesiastical term *Archbishop*, and implied canonical or metropolitical jurisdiction.

The opinion expressed by Papebroch², although rejected by Byeus, is, therefore, in the Editor's judgment, more near the truth, viz. that the Scholiast is to be regarded as an author of the eighth (or, perhaps he ought rather to have said, as he spoke only of Colgan's Scholiast, the tenth or eleventh) century.

By Colgan's Scholiast is here meant the author of the Preface, or biographical account of St. Fiacc, prefixed to the Hymn: for the gloss or notes may perhaps be from a still later hand. These, now for the first time printed, from the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, are manifestly older than the notes published by Colgan. And, nevertheless, from the explanations given in them of obscure and obsolete words, it is evident that some time must have elapsed between their composition and the composition of the original hymn. The prevailing character of these notes is etymological and philological. The notes printed by Colgan are, for the most part, historical and legendary; and they contain

p. 211, cap. 28. "Et magna civitas in honore S. Moedoc ibi crevit, quæ eodem nomine vocatur. i. Farna. Deinde facta synodo magna in terra Lagenensium decrevit Rex Brandub et tam laici, quam clerici ut archiepiscopus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc sanctus Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus." The words "a multis Catholicis consecratus" are obscure. Was this passage written at a time when a bishop might have been consecrated in Ireland by any who were not Catholics? What non-Catholic bishops were then in Ireland?

¹ *Bishops*.—Colgan's elaborate note on this passage (*Actt. SS.*, p. 217, n. 29), with the

authorities which he there quotes to prove that there were always Archbishops in Ireland, is full of the same fallacy.

² *Papebroch*.—See his *Comm. prævius in Actt. S. Patricii* (ad xvii. Mart., num. 15 (p. 520 B), where he says, "Sed et scholia in hymnum illum scripta non videntur nobis tam esse antiqua quam existimant aliqui: cum in iis non pauca occurrunt, quæ seculo septimo posteriorem auctorem sapiunt." And again, num. 33 (p. 523 D.), he says: "In quem [hymnum S. Fieci] antiqui Scholiastæ notæ pertinent ad seculum non vi., sed viii., ut illis antiquior sit Vita tum illa quam Evinius scripsit, tum alia quam Tirechanus fecit, qui ambo seculo vii. floruerunt."

also such legends as prove them to be, beyond all doubt, much later than the Hymn.

For example, the Hymn contains no allusion to the celebrated Baculus Jesu, or "staff of Jesus," which St. Patrick was said to have received from a hermit of the Tyrrhene sea¹, and which, according to the Tripartite Life, was also delivered to him by Christ Himself². But the story is alluded to in Colgan's edition of the Scholia, where it is said that Patrick "found" the Baculus in an island of the Tyrrhene sea, called Alanensis, near Mount Armon³.

This story can scarcely be older than the eighth or ninth century. It is not found in the Book of Armagh, nor in the *Second Life*, published by Colgan, the author of which must have lived some time after the death of St. Fiacc, for he tells us expressly that the relics of Fiacc were in his time preserved in the church of Slebhite⁴. It is not mentioned in the Life by Probus, who, nevertheless, notices the "baculus"⁵ of Patrick, and attributes to it miraculous virtues, but without any intimation that it was "the Staff of Jesus;" and no allusion to it occurs in the Gloss or Scholia of the Dublin MS., which are now for the first time published.

Again, the notes of Colgan's MS. are the only authority for the statement that the voices of the children of Caille Fochlad, calling upon St. Patrick to come and save them, were heard in Rome, not by Patrick only, but also by Pope Celestine⁶. This is an improvement upon the story told in the Hymn

¹ *Tyrrhene Sea*.—Vit. 3⁴, cap. 23; Vit. 4⁴, cap. 29; Vit. 6⁴ (Jocelin.) cap. 24.

² *Himself*.—"Venit ad vicinum Montem Hermon, in quo placuerit Christo ei apparere; ibique tanquam alteri Moysi tradidit jam laudatum baculum, qui passim Baculus Jesu nuncupatur."—Vit. Trip. i., c. 37.

³ *Armon*.—"Et tunc invenit baculum Jesu, in insula Alanensi, prope Montem Armon."

⁴ *Slebhite*.—"Quidam adolescens nomine Fiec, qui postea fuit episcopus, et reliquie eius hi Slebhite [venerantur]." Vit. 2⁴, c. 38 (Triad. Thaum., p. 15). But these words are closely connected with a passage in the Book of Armagh, where we read (fol. 4, b 2)—"Quidam adolescens poeta nomine Feec, qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit, cujus re-

liquie adorantur hi Slebti." The Vita secunda calls Fiec "adolescens," not "adolescens poeta;" and "episcopus," not "mirabilis episcopus." Is this evidence that the Vita secunda is older than the Book of Armagh?

⁵ *Baculus*.—Vit. 5, (Probus) lib. ii., c. 21. For the more recent history of this celebrated Baculus, see *Obits and Martyrol. of Christ's Church*, Introd., p. xi., sq., where the Editor must confess to an oversight, when he said that the Lives of St. Patrick all speak of this baculus. Comp. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, pp. 323, 328, 331.

⁶ *Celestine*.—"Ipse Celestinus quando ordinabatur Patricius, audiebat vocem infantium eum advocantium."

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